The Battle Of The Seven Arts: A French Poem, Volume 4, Issue 1...

Henri d'Andeli

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Vol. 4 No. 1

HISTORY
Vol. 1 No. 1

THE BATTLE OF THE SEVEN ARTS

A FRENCH POEM BY HENRI D'ANDELI, TROUVÈRE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. EDITED AND TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY
LOUIS JOHN PAETOW

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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1914

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LOUIS JOHN PAETOW

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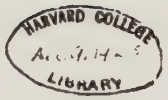

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LOUIS J. PAETOW.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. BATTLES OF BOOKS
2. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF INTEREST IN THE ANCIENT CLASSICS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES
3. THE POEM AND THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

1. BATTLES OF BOOKS

"Two spirits divide the world, the ancient spirit and the modern spirit, both justifiable, for they correspond to two real needs of humanity, tradition and progress." This is the opening sentence of an interesting book which M. Hippolyte Rigault wrote in 1856 under the title *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes.* The uninitiated will probably conclude that this is a treatise on political parties and that it discloses the fundamental differences between conservatives and liberals in all times and places. Those who have read the book, however, know that it describes the quarrel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between scholars who fought over the question of the relative value of ancient and modern books. More particularly, the bone of contention was the value of the Greek and Latin classics. That is a contention familiar to the present world of scholarship, which, with lips smiling or drawn as the case may be, is watching the onslaughts of the "Trojans" on Greek at Oxford, and is daily reading denunciatory articles on the one hand, and, on the other, classic symposia on the value of humanistic studies.[1]

There is no doubt that at present many an ill wind is blowing against Greek and Latin, which no longer are holding the position in education and scholarship which they occupied in the days of our fathers and grandfathers.[2] But those who rejoice and those who moan should never forget that this is no new thing under the sun. Few men of discrimination will deny that it is fortunate that a considerable amount of ancient Greek and Latin literature was preserved in medieval libraries—it was a goodly heritage—but think not that it came to send peace on earth; it came not to send peace, but a sword. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that Rigault has written the last interesting book on the

[1] For the present interesting controversy at the University of Paris see the letter signed S. D. in *The Nation*, vol. 97 (1913), 230, and the literature there mentioned.

[2] A very significant sentence occurs in the preface of the revised edition of Graesse, *Orbis latinus*, Berlin, 1909. Fr. Benedict, the new editor, says, "Der zweite, deutsch-lateinische Teil des Buches ist bei der neuen Bearbeitung weggeblieben. Das Lateinschreiben hat in der Neuzeit selbst in den philologischen Kreisen so nachgelassen, dass es ziemlich auf dem Aussterben steht, und somit erübrigt sich jenes zweite Verzeichnis."

quarrel of the "ancients and the moderns." That quarrel presents a noble theme, which should be conceived much more broadly than in the pages of Rigault. The vastness of it would lend itself to almost epic treatment, for, long before the seventeenth century, and ever since, there have been so many classical and anti-classical marches and countermarches, so many victories and defeats, so much hope and despair. Modern champions would glory more in victory and sorrow less in defeat if the long and interesting history of the troubled march of the ancient classics across the centuries were constantly lying before them on some fair page.[3]

Lack of perspective in this matter is painfully evident even today, when many still believe that from time immemorial the A.B. degree has been bound up indissolubly with the study of ancient Greek and Latin literature. That belief is quite as erroneous as the hoary tenacious fallacy that the fall of Constantinople in 1453 ushered in the study of Greek in western Europe and thus opened the flood-gates of the Renaissance. Modern universities are such lineal descendants of medieval universities that, to understand fully our present degrees, we must know the whole truth about the origin and early history of the arts and of the bachelorship which gave us the combination A.B. The A.B. degree, without ancient Greek and Latin literature, was an invention of the Middle Ages, but the classification of arts, as studied in medieval universities, originated among the Greeks and Romans. When a man like Otto Willmann insists that the program of studies which led to an A.B. degree in medieval universities was by no means barbarous, but quite as respectable in scholarship as Gothic architecture now is in art, we should give him a hearing.[4] A careful study of the medieval course in arts might help us to appreciate the attitude of mind which leads many men to advocate that the A.B. degree should be conferred in our modern universities without special reference to Greek and Latin literature.

We must try, however, to avoid even the semblance of contention either for or against the ancient classics, for fear of distracting attention from our trou-

[3] For short sketches of the subject see Shorey, "The case for the classics," pp. 303–343 in *Latin and Greek in American Education*, edited by F. W. Kelsey (New York, Macmillan, 1911; copious bibliography in the footnotes); Rand, "The Classics in European Education," pp. 260–282 in the same publication; H. W., "The Battle of the Books," *Westminster Review*, CLX, 425–437; J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1903–1908; first volume in second edition, 1906) *passim*.

[4] See his recent article on "Arts, the seven liberal," in the new *Catholic Encyclopedia;* likewise his book, *Didaktik als Bildungslehre* (ed. 4; Braunschweig, 1909) 160 ff.

vère. When we argue, it will be for more light on the subject, and we hope to add a little light, believing that with more light there will come some sweetness.[6]

"Sweetness and light" is a very trite expression, but we may be pardoned for using it because Dean Swift wrote it in his *Battle of the Books,* which essay should have a new appeal when read in conjunction with the thirteenth century poem of Henri d'Andeli. The titles and contents of the two pieces are so similar, that the eager critic will be tempted to bridge the centuries and the Channel in order to establish some connection between them. We wish him luck in his endeavor, but we cannot stop to give him aid and comfort.

Swift's essay is but a faint echo of the controversy between the "ancients and the moderns" in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. That storm, which threw the French Academy and the new Royal Academy into a turmoil, had been brewing long before, especially in Italy. Almost as early as in the first generation after Petrarch, the excesses and the pedantry of many Italian humanists made them the butt of the wit and the satire of even their own confrères, and thus prepared the way for a reaction against humanism. Although the religious controversies of the sixteenth century were not conducive to the spread of secular culture, the classics flourished and met with no such active opposition as might be expected. A really serious onslaught of the "moderns" upon the "ancients" came in the seventeenth century when the "moderns" represented the masterpieces of literature which were being written in the vernaculars of western Europe. This trouble was foreshadowed by Petrarch's ill-suppressed jealousy of the popularity of the *Divine Comedy.* During the reign of Louis XIV the quarrel spread from Italy to France and from France to England. It will be necessary only to mention the names of a few prominent champions in order to refresh the memory of the reader concerning this famous episode in the battle of the books: Fontenelle, Perrault, and Boileau in France; Temple, Wotton, Boyle, Bentley, and Swift in England.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed other phases of the battle of books. At times there even was civil war in the domain of the classics over the relative merits of Latin and Greek. Again, hostile criticism revealed that, as sources of history, the ancient classics were not worthy of the unques-

[6] The closing words of Rigault's book are worth quoting, "Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le procès des anciens et des modernes est encore sur le bureau, et pourra bien y rester longtemps. Les avocats des deux parties continuent à plaider, et les juges les plus sages (j'aurais dû peut-être y songer plus tôt), sont ceux qui, attendant un plus ample informé, s'abstiennent de prononcer l'arrêt."

tioning credence of some of their zealous devotees. In the sweep of innovations of the French revolutionary period, the classics did not remain unmolested. Thus Condorcet, in his *Instituts,* gave the natural sciences the place formerly occupied by the ancient languages, which he characterized as "plus nuisible qu'utiles." Nevertheless, in spite of temporary setbacks, the end of the eighteenth century left the classics still firmly intrenched in European education and learning.

Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the battle has been confined largely to the teaching of the classics in the schools. Sidney Smith began the crusade against the excessive philological emphasis in teaching, the stress on the letter without much regard for the content and spirit of the masterpieces of the Greek and Roman past. Then came the irresistible charge of the natural sciences for a place in the courses in schools, flanked by the modern languages; and thus we come to time's latest limit, when numberless vocational studies are storming bastions classical and non-classical. For these recent phases of the subject we will let the reader browse in the broad expanses of contemporary periodical literature and go back to the Middle Ages to which we wish to draw particular attention.

It is passing strange that so many people today still share the ignorance of the early humanists concerning the history of the ancient classics during the Middle Ages. Far from having neglected them entirely, those centuries were not even exempt from the quarrel between the "ancients and the moderns," and he who would write us the history of that great war must write many a chapter before he comes to the seventeenth century.

We have no adequate account of the decline of the study of Greek in the Latin West, and of the decline of interest in ancient Greek literature in the Greek East towards the beginning of the Middle Ages. One may venture to say, however, that the recalcitrant schoolboy, balking at the task of learning a foreign language, had more to do with the decline of classical Greek in the West than had any fierce barbarians. No doubt many modern "Trojans" will derive too much unholy comfort from the following words of Saint Augustine, but they are too illustrative to be omitted:

> But why, then, did I dislike Greek learning, which was full of like tales? For Homer also was skilled in inventing similar stories, and is most sweetly vain, yet was he disagreeable to me as a boy. I believe Virgil, indeed, would be the same to Grecian children, if compelled to learn him, as I was Homer. The difficulty, in truth, the difficulty of learning a foreign language, mingled as it were with gall all the sweetness of those fabulous Grecian stories. For not a single

word of it did I understand, and to make me do so, they vehemently urged me with cruel threatenings and punishments.[6]

Thus it was that Augustine preferred a translation of a Greek book to the original text. At the beginning of the sixth century there were so many in the Latin West who shared Augustine's preference, that Boethius believed the time had come to translate all the works of Aristotle and Plato into Latin. That was a condition of affairs such as scholars faced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they were eager to read Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen; such as Pope Nicholas V faced in the fifteenth century when he planned to complete the translation of all the Greek prose classics into Latin; and such as we are facing when we still use Bohn translations, and are looking eagerly for each new volume of the Loeb Classical Library.

The case of the Latin classics in the West was quite different during the Middle Ages. The medieval schoolboy was almost as fortunate as Augustine, who in another place confesses:

> But what was the cause of my dislike of Greek literature, which I studied from my boyhood, I cannot even now understand. For the Latin I loved exceedingly. . . . There was a time also when (as an infant) I knew no Latin; but this I acquired without any fear or tormenting, by merely taking notice, amid the blandishments of my nurses, the jests of those who smiled on me.[7]

Now the period during which the medieval schoolboy knew no Latin usually extended somewhat beyond infancy, and the grim grammar master (or mistress), with Donatus in hand, rather than the cooing nurses, imparted the first Latin words and constructions; but the worst pains of acquiring a working knowledge of Latin were over before the boy was ten, and the woe had not yet come into the world, which forces grown boys and girls to begin their Latin and Greek at fifteen and sixteen, and young men and women of eighteen and twenty to begin their French and German. Happy days for the schoolboy, when the East was Greek and the West was Latin, and each fervently hated the other! Who knows what hitherto unsuspected vaulting sins of his fathers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the modern schoolboy is expiating, who is groaning amidst the Babel of many modern vernaculars, which took definite literary shape in that period, and at the same time is staggering under the dead weight of both Latin and Greek.[8]

[6] *Confessions*, Book I, ch. xiv. Translated in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First series, I, 51.

[7] *Confessions*, Book I, chs. xiii (20) and xiv.

[8] Eduard Norden admits frankly that the humanists killed Latin; "Petrarca und seine Nachfolger, die das Latein zu neuem Leben erwecken wollten, haben es in Wahrheit getötet. Denn

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The Latin classics, then, were not feared in Western Europe during the Middle Ages because of the difficulty of learning a foreign language. But—had not Saint Jerome written, "What has Horace to do with the Psalter, or Virgil with the Gospel, or Cicero with the Apostle?"[9] Likewise Saint Augustine, after his conversion, "I was compelled to weep for Dido dead, because she slew herself for love; while at the same time I brooked with dry eyes my wretched self dying far from Thee, in the midst of those things, O God, my life."[10] Such words seem to give us the clue to the gloom which the early humanists saw brooding over the millenium which preceded them. However, let us not be too hasty in our judgment. Jerome and Augustine wrote those sentences in the heat of religious fervor. As an antidote, read Jerome's letter to Magnus (Letter LXX), on the reading of pagan books; and search in Augustine's works, how much he loved Latin classics and pagan learning generally. With Augustine, devotion to other-worldliness did not necessarily exclude the literature of this world, but "Wretched that man who knows all philosophies and knows not Thee; blessed is he who knows Thee, though ignorant of all those matters."[11]

Illustrations from Paulinus of Nola, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and so on in the long list of writings which fill the volumns of Migne, will not make it clearer to what extent opinion about the ancient classics was

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im Mittelalter hatte es gelebt; waren doch im 13. Jahrhundert Grammatiken und Wörterbücher entstanden, die es wie eine lebende Sprache behandelten. Mochten die Humanisten über dieses 'Mönchslatein' die ganze Lauge ihres Spottes ausgiessen, mochten sie es vergleichen mit einem 'Schlammpfuhl, in dem sich Menschen wühlen, die man besser Schweine nenne,' 'Menschen, die man lieber schnarchen als reden höre;' wenn sie an die Stelle des 'verkrüppelten Baumes' die Blütenpracht ciceronianischer Sprache treten liessen, so vergassen sie in ihrer Sehnsucht nach Glanz und Schönheit, dass eine Sprache, die auf blosser Nachahmung berühmter Muster begründet war, nicht lebensfähig sei: in dem Kunststile fand die geschichtliche Sprachentwicklung ihr Grab." ("Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abteilung VIII [ed. 3, 1912], 519).

Norden goes on to rejoice that the humanists unwittingly furthered the development of modern vernaculars, but we should like to consider it an open question whether the substitution of many literary languages for Latin was a real blessing for western Europe. Perhaps the development of vernaculars could not have been checked in any case, but it is tempting to speculate what the world would be like today if Latin had lived and were now the universal literary language in western Europe, North and South America, Australia, and Africa. In the Middle Ages masters and students wandered from one university to another without being hindered by barriers of language. In spite of all our advantages derived from the invention of printing, a work written in Germany today is very largely a sealed book in England and America, until it has undergone the devitalizing process of translation; whereas in the Middle Ages a book written anywhere was accessible everywhere in western Europe as fast as messengers could carry it and scribes could reproduce it. Happy dream! from which we wake to be confronted with Esperanto and Idiom Neutral.

[9] Letter to Eustochium (Letter XXII). Translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Second Series, VI, 35.

[10] *Confessions*, Book I, ch. xiii (20).

[11] *Confessions*, Book V, ch. iv (7).

divided in the Middle Ages as it is now, although religious and moral arguments had more weight than they do with us. Again and again we read of an Odo of Cluny who dreamed of his Virgil as a beautiful vase filled with horrid vipers, and, then as now, many men in their old age began to repent of the real or imaginary sins of their youth; and, in the Middle Ages, reading of the classics was one of the standard sins of youth. Should not modern teachers of the ancient classics sigh their *utinam!* for those good old days when youth loved the classics even to the soul's undoing; and when old men, not boys, associated Virgil with vipers?

We need not be astonished at such fear of the classics on religious and moral grounds. There have always been, and still are, apologists for the classics on that score. In 1531, Thomas Elyot wrote,

> If by reading the sage counsel of Nestor, the subtle persuasions of Ulysses, the compendious gravity of Menelaus, the imperial majesty of Agamemnon, the prowess of Achilles, the valiant courage of Hector, we may apprehend anything whereby our wits may be amended and our personages more apt to serve our public weal and our prince, what forceth it us though Homer writes leasings?[12]

Three and a half centuries later a certain Charles Elliott, D.D., still wrote:

> Some have condemned the study of the Classics on the ground of morality. It is not our purpose to hold them up as models of moral teaching, or to encourage an indiscriminate imitation of the sages of antiquity. . . . The only pure morality is found in the pages of inspiration: the only perfect model of virtue in the Founder of Christianity; and next to Him, in those who believe His doctrines, obey His precepts, and imitate His example. Yet among some of the ancient heathen there was much that was noble and elevated in character. We meet everywhere on the classic page with examples of devoted friendship, filial piety, reverence for the gods, unbending fidelity, self-sacrificing patriotism, and magnanimity. These virtues are commended and their opposites condemned.[13]

For the Middle Ages this phase of the study of the classics is summed up conveniently in Gratian's *Decretum,* in a discussion as to whether priests should be acquainted with profane literature or not.[14] Gratian drew the conclusion that priests must above all shun ignorance, and thus allowed them to judge for themselves whether or not profane literature conduces to wisdom. The subject has not been investigated thoroughly, but it is safe to say that there was no systematic attempt on the part of the medieval church to discourage the read-

[12] In his *Book of the Governour.* Quoted by E. K. Rand in *Latin and Greek in American Education,* edited by F. W. Kelsey (N. Y., 1911), 271.

[13] "Study of the Greek and Latin Classics," in P. G. Hamerton and others, *Higher Education. A Symposium* (New York, A. S. Barnes & Co. 1879) 67.

[14] This interesting extract is translated in A. O. Norton, *Readings in the History of Education. Mediaeval Universities* (Harvard University, 1909) 60–75.

ing of the ancient authors. Neither can it be upheld that the Christian religion *per se* was utterly inimical to the classics in the Middle Ages. If it had been so hostile, it is hard to see how it was possible for the classics to flourish in the fierce religious heat of the Reformation. The truth is, that for low ebbs in the study of the ancient classics in the Middle Ages, we must look for other causes in addition to those which involve the church and religion.

Now the lowest ebb in the study of ancient classical literature occurred in the century which preceded Petrarch. So low it was that he and his contemporaries believed that the dry and barren period upon which they had fallen must have extended back for centuries to the last days of classic Latin literature. They were badly mistaken. Only three generations had passed away since France had echoed with a quarrel between the "ancient and moderns" which, in importance and interest, may well compare with the seventeenth century war which agitated the French Academy and the Royal Society. Our best record of this early engagement is the *Battle of the Seven Arts* by Henri d'Andeli. It is, however, an exceedingly enigmatical record unless read in the light of the history of culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

2. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF INTEREST IN THE ANCIENT CLASSICS IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

Thanks to the early humanists, the intellectual history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is still *nova terra*. Only lately a few scholarly ships have touched upon its shores, and, along with samples of its products and stores, have brought back strange tales of wonder. Some people, who stay at home and do not themselves venture into the unknown perilous seas, but who nevertheless are interested in the new findings, have popularized them, and have begun to weigh the thirteenth century against all other centuries and have not found it wanting. Manifestly, the time is not ripe for such judgments. That era of parchment has bequeathed to us vast quantities of writings which still await the palaeographer, the editor, and the publisher, and they in turn are all appealing to the lexicographer. In our day of excellent dictionaries, encyclopedias, and books of reference of all kinds, the student of medieval Latin texts is still thrown upon his Du Cange, his classical dictionaries, and mostly upon his common sense. The proposal at the last International Congress of Historical Studies, held at London, for a new dictionary of medieval Latin, indicates that we still are at the very beginning of the vast work of restoring the true history of the Middle Ages.

Recent books are saying much about a "Twelfth Century Renaissance." That is an unfortunate term. "New birth" always recalls the words of the Gospels and implies some sort of a miracle which transcends the ordinary vision of historians. In this heyday of theories of evolution, it is strange that historians are still prone to explain some periods of rapid change by means of a theory of miraculous regeneration. With the beginning of the twelfth century, life in western Europe began to broaden and deepen rapidly, and thereafter the rate of development scarcely ever diminished until new worlds had been discovered and the modern European states and civilizations had come into being. This natural and gradual development has been much obscured by arbitrary divisions and classifications, and by one-sided notions of what constitutes progress and advancement of culture. Until recently, the early humanists were considered absolutely trustworthy judges of the culture of their own time and of the cen-

turies which preceded them. Thus it came about that the astonishing intellectual development of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which gave rise to modern universities, was obscured and belittled; so much so that a very interesting chapter of the quarrel between "ancients and moderns" was entirely lost sight of for centuries.

When the intellectual horizon widened rapidly in the twelfth century, it was natural that, among many other things, there should be an increasing interest in the study of language and literature. Latin books, old and new, pagan and Christian, attracted attention first and foremost, although Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic were not unknown to some scholars. Greek and Hebrew aroused curiosity mainly because they are the original languages of the Bible and because Aristotle began to fascinate so many minds, while Arabic was the medium through which much philosophy and natural science, ancient and medieval, reached western Europe. The Latin world of scholarship, however, largely contented itself with translations of these foreign books. A literary appreciation of Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic is scarcely discernible. In the thirteenth century, men like Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon clearly foresaw, and Bacon clearly stated, how essential these languages were for thorough scholarship among the Latins, but their pleadings were not heeded. Thus we may confine our attention entirely to the history of the Latin classics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and still furnish a sufficient setting for the poem of Henri d'Andeli.

It has become almost axiomatic that Italy necessarily was the cradle of the "Revival of Learning,"[18] and yet there is no compelling argument which forces us to subscribe to this peculiar doctrine of predestination. In reality, that cradle was being rocked merrily in northern France during the twelfth century. It contained a lusty infant, not so precocious and vivacious and willful as the later Italian baby, but a nice, healthy, normal child. There is no doubt that it would have grown up to spread its wholesome influence throughout the field of western

[18] Quotation marks should always enclose this antiquated expression, which cannot truthfully stand by itself without the insertion of the words "ancient classical." It is a well established fact that the new interest in classical literature, aroused by Petrarch, marked a forward step, not only in the study of Latin and Greek, but of learning in general in the fourteenth century. We can easily appreciate how the early humanists were led to consider their innovations a revival of learning, using the term without qualification; but we can no longer concede to them a monopoly on the word "learning." The bald expression, "revival of learning in the fourteenth century," inevitably gives the ordinary reader the false impression that modern scholarship still upholds the belief that the work of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot be classed as learning.

scholarship, if its parents had not become so foolish about some of its sister sciences that they allowed the poor thing to perish of neglect.

The schools of Chartres have earned the enviable reputation of having been the chief seat of sound humanistic studies in the twelfth century. Fortunately, we have considerable material for a study of this locality, which has been utilized admirably by A. Clerval in his book, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1895). The famous bishop of Chartres, Fulbert, in the eleventh century prepared the way for a remarkably distinguished group of teachers, such as Bishop Ivo, and the chancellors Bernard of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée, and Theodoric of Chartres. The fame of their teaching drew scholars from far and wide so that the reputation of their city rivalled that of Paris. There was a colony of English students at Chartres, of whom John of Salisbury was the most distinguished representative. John never wearied of praising his teachers, especially for their instruction in the humanities, and modern English writers never tire of calling attention to him as an exceptional humanist of the twelfth century. On the whole, this has tended to isolate him and to give the impression that he furnishes the exception which proves the rule that the ancient classics were not cultivated at that time. As a matter of fact, John of Salisbury was by no means a striking exception. He vehemently assailed "Cornificius" and his followers who despised literature and believed they could make a short cut to wisdom by means of dialectic, but he was not a solitary champion any more than was Matthew Arnold against the "Philistines" of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, the Latin classics were quite generally read in the twelfth century, not with such abandon and unreasonable exclusiveness as in the time of Petrarch and his followers, but enough to have had a very wholesome effect upon the Latin style of the twelfth century, which is strikingly superior to that of the thirteenth. To furnish enough examples to substantiate this statement would carry us too far afield. Almost every trustworthy recent article and book which deals with the sources of the literary history of the twelfth century, offers abundant illustrations. It will be sufficient to call attention to an interesting anonymous list of books which dates from the close of the twelfth century.[16] This document mentions books for the seven liberal arts, medicine, canon and civil law, and theology, including a very respectable list of the ancient classics, such as Statius, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Martial, Petronius, Sym-

[16] Recently edited from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, England, MS 385, by C. H. Haskins, "A List of Textbooks from the Close of the Twelfth Century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 75–94.

machus, Livy, and Seneca. In all probability the list pertains to Paris, and the probable author was the Englishman Alexander Neckam (1157-1217), whose works, as far as they are known, prove him to have been a scholar of considerable classical learning.

There can be no reasonable doubt, that, at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Latin classics were still widely read, even in Paris. In gossiping about the deeds he had done, the delightful Welshman, Gerald de Barri, brags about his success at Paris as a lecturer on law because he interspersed his lectures with apt quotations from the philosophers and classical authors.[17] Sermons and addresses to students are apt to be very stereotyped, and often vehemently assail scholastic vices which the student body has long ago exchanged for newer ones, but Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) was an alert preacher and probably knew fairly well what the students of Paris were doing. In his day excessive devotion to the Latin classical poets surely was a declining sin among the students, but it could not have disappeared entirely at the time when he said:

> In spite of the value of the art of eloquence which we derive from the poets, properly called authors [*auctores*], it is better to choose for our instruction those works which contain moral teaching, such as those of Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius, and above all, the Versified Bible. Do not books of this kind suffice without turning to the historians and the poets for excitations which lead to debauch and vanity? Isidore tells us that it is not only in offering incense that we sacrifice to the demons, but also in searching with eagerness the pagan fables and maxims; above all, his words apply to those who allow themselves to be drawn to such studies by pleasure or curiosity. Men of experience may cull from them some good thoughts and wise maxims, as gold may be found in the mud. . . . But human life is already too short for him who confines himself to such learning as may be acquired without danger.[18]

John Garland, a master of grammar in Paris until about 1252, was in much closer touch with the students, and was therefore better informed about their studies. He was a lone enthusiast for the classics when almost everybody in the great university was more interested in other things. In his *Morale Scholarium*, written between 1238 and 1244, we seem to hear the swan-song of the ancient classics at the University of Paris. He condemned works which aimed at be-

[17] "Adeo namque vivas legum et canonum rationes introductas rhetoricis persuasionibus adjuvabat; adeoque tam verborum schematibus atque coloribus quam sententiarum medullis causas adornabat, dictaque philosophorum et auctorum miro artificio inserta locis congruis adaptabat; ut quanto scientiores et eruditiores accederent, tanto avidius et attentius ad audiendum memoriaeque figendum aures et animos applicarent." Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Rebus a se Gestis* in his *Opera* (Rolls Series), I, 45.

[18] *Sermo coram scholaribus.* Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 17509, fos. 31, 32. A French translation may be found in Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, ed. 2; 1886), 474–5.

littling Helicon. "Where the authors flourish," he says, probably referring to Orleans, "the doctors profit by it and their writings are much improved." He praised poets who were still true to the ancient muses and then he pleaded for reform; even suggesting that the ancient classics be re-established by law.[19] (He surely would have resorted to entrance requirements if there had been such barriers around medieval universities).

Thus, during the first half of the thirteenth century, the ancient classics were well-nigh forsaking Paris. In the statutes of the university there is no trace of them. At this time the schools of Chartres amounted to very little, and now the center of humanistic studies was Orleans. Unfortunately, we have much less information about the schools of Orleans than about those of Chartres, and there is no such book for Orleans as Clerval, *Les Ecoles des Chartres*. Leopold Delisle called attention to the importance of the schools of Orleans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in 1869, but since that date little new material has been discovered.[20] About the year 1200, Orleans ranked with the famous seats of learning such as Salerno, Bologna, Toledo, and Paris. The writers of the time always distinguished it as the center of ancient classical studies.[21] In a formulary of letters, written probably at Orleans in the first half of the thirteenth century, is a model letter for students who want to borrow books from their friends; it

[19] *Morale Scholarium*, Bruges, MS 546, fol. 6ᵛᵒ; Gonville and Caius College, MS 385, p. 312; Bodleian, MS Rawlinson G. 96, p. 167. For quotations from this work and for other material pertaining to the subject matter of this chapter, see L. J. Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities, with special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*, (Champaign, Illinois, 1910. Also published in the *University Studies* of the University of Illinois, III, No. 7, January 1910), ch. I.

[20] L. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans au XIIᵉ et au XIIIᵉ siècle." *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, VII (1869), 139–154. See also A. de Foulques de Villaret, "L'Enseignement des lettres et des sciences dans l'Orleanais depuis les premiers siècles du Christianisme jusqu'à la fondation de l'Université d'Orléans," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais*, XIV (1875), 299 ff (also printed separately, Orléans, H. Herluison, 1875); and C. Cuissard, *L'Etude du Grec à Orléans depuis le IXᵉ siècle jusqu'au milieu du XVIIIᵉ siècle* (Orléans, 1883).

[21] The poet Matthew of Vendôme (d. ca. 1200) wrote, "Parisius logicam sibi iactitet, Aurelianis auctores: elegos Vindocinense solum" (in his *Poètical Formulary*, edited by Wattenbach, in *Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie*, 1872, II, 571). Geoffrey of Vinsauf, in his *Poetria nova* (addressed to Pope Innocent III), edited by Leyser, *Historia Poetarum*, 920, vv. 1009–1013 wrote,

> "In morbis sanat medici virtute Salernum
> Aegros. In causis Bononia legibus armat
> Nudos. Parisius dispensat in artibus illos
> Panes, unde cibat robustos. Aurelianis
> Educat in cunis autorum lacte tenellos."

In a sermon before the students of the University of Toulouse, in 1229, the monk Helinand said: "Ecce quaerunt clerici Parisiis artes liberales, Aurelianis auctores, Bononiae codices, Salerni pyxides, Toleti daemones et nusquam mores." (Often quoted, e. g., Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 727).

reads in part, "I was in Paris a long time and many told me that a knowledge of the authors would redound to my credit. Consequently, I have come to Orleans with the intention of making some progress in this study, and I hope to succeed if I have the books."[22] Alexander Neckam waxed enthusiastic over the work at Orleans in these words: "Parnassus itself cannot compare with thee, Orleans; the double summit of Parnassus yields to thee. I think that in no other city the songs of the Muses, watched over with so much zeal, are better interpreted."[23] The despairing wail of John Garland, the last of the classicists in Paris, appealed to Orleans to revive a forsaken cause. "Aid me," he wrote in 1234. "illustrious poets, whom golden renown matches with gold, you whom the city of Orleans attracts from all the regions of the world, you, the glory of the fountain of Hippocrene. God has chosen you to sustain the edifice of eloquence shaken to its very foundation; for the Latin language is decaying, the green fields of the authors are withering, and the jealous blast of Boreas has blighted the flowery meadows."[24]

A gallant attempt was made by Orleans to defend her classical poets against Paris, where flourished the more popular intellectual interests of the time. That struggle is the theme of the following poem of Henri d'Andeli, which will speak for itself very well. During the second half of the thirteenth century, Orleans was famous for law, but literary studies had declined so utterly that a student in Orleans now warned one of his friends not to come there to teach the subjects of

[22] "Scolaris amico quod mittat sibi actores.

"Qui scolarem miliciam exercere desiderat et profectum sciencie ex ea percipere. sine libris non veniat ad actores. Multo jam tempore fui Parisius, et multorum novi de testimonio quod actorum sciencia prestaret honorem. Aurelianis igitur ea mente me contuli, quod in eis proficerem et eventum suum haberet intentio si libros habuerim. Vestram ergo benivolenciam imploro ut librorum vos habeam provisorem quos ad tante sciencie consequcionem esse noveritis oportunos." Quoted by Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," p. 150.

[23] "Non se Parnassus tibi conferat, Aurelianis,
Parnassi vertex cedet uterque tibi.
Carmina Pieridum, multo vigilata labore,
Exponi nulla certius urbe reor."

De naturis rerum ("De laudibus divinae sapientiae," vv. 607–610), edited by Wright in the Rolls Series (London, 1863), 454.

[24] "Vos vates magni quos aurea comparet auro
Fama, favete mihi, quos Aurelianis ab urbe
Orbe trahit toto, Pegasei gloria fontis.
Vos deus elegit, per quos fundamina firma
Astent eloquii studio succurrere, cujus
Fundamenta labant: emarcet lingua latina.
Autorum vernans exaruit area, pratum
Florigerum boreas flatu livente perussit."

Ars lectoria ecclesiae [*Accentarius*], Bruges MS 456, fol. 76v°. This extract was printed by Scheler, *Lexicographie latine du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Leipzig, 1867), 9.

the trivium, which were no longer popular as in the days of old.[25] Whatever students of the trivium still remained were lost in the "labyrinth of Aristotle."[26] Thus it came about that Petrarch heard nothing about the ancient classics when he travelled in France about a century after Henri d'Andeli had staged the famous battle of the books between Paris and Orleans.

It remains to investigate the causes of this utter decline of humanistic studies. It occurred at the time when the great medieval universities were taking shape, at a time when there was intense intellectual ferment, and hence it cannot be ascribed to mental sloth, or to inate inability or stolidity. Many books state that the time was not ripe for appreciative classical studies, that the world was waiting for the awakening of the individual and the appearance of the "modern man." Such explanations are mostly blowy words, which tend to fill the ears with sonorous sound and the eyes with dust. In historical work it will always be profitable to descend from such lofty generalities to an examination of whatever humble facts may be available.

The obvious thing to do is to try to understand what interested scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries so much that they forsook the Latin classics open-eyed, and thus naturally failed to advance to an appreciation of classic Greek literature. Perhaps it will be well to dispose of theology at the outset. There is abroad a generally erroneous notion about religious instruction in the Middle Ages. Any close inspection of the work of medieval schools reveals the rather startling fact that they offered extremely little religious instruction. It is equally surprising to find that theology was taught in comparatively few universities of the Middle Ages, whereas a faculty of law was lacking in not a single one of them. We concede that the Christian religion dominated men's minds more than it does today, but that domination was not attained primarily by close and constant study of the sacred texts. It is a grave mistake to identify practically all advanced medieval learning with theology. All learning was almost universally said to be ancillary to theology, but that generally was a mere figure of speech when so few students pursued the long and arduous path which led to the degree of doctor of theology. Henri d'Andeli presents a very signifi-

[25] "G. Arelianis studens" writes, "Scicitatus sum quot et quanti forent Arelianis in trivialibus auditores, tandem pro facto compertum est hos scolares esse paucos et indigos nec non superficia rudimenta sectantes, quod eorum doctores intuiti ad reliquas convolant disciplinas. Igitur quamquam meus animus vestram gliscat presenciam, nullominus vobis instinctu consulo caritatis quod Arelianis non curetis pro trivialibus edocendis venire, ubi non sunt plures qui subtiliter audirent sermonis vestri dogmata [venienda] veneranda." Quoted by C. H. Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," *American Historical Review*, III (1898), 222, note 3.

[26] L. Delisle, *Le formulaire de Tréguier* (Orléans, 1890), Appendix.

cant personification of Theology, who withdraws from the army of Logic to the wine-cellars of Paris, because she takes so little interest in the contest between the secular books."[27]

Logic, not Theology, was commander-in-chief of the forces of Paris which overwhelmed the authors of Orleans, led by Grammar. Probably nobody will ever be able to explain just why it was that logic became so popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So closely was logic linked with philosophy in medieval universities, that many writers still confuse the reader by treating them as one, and then they usually go one step farther in the wrong direction by indentifying both logic and philosophy with theology. We stultify ourselves when we carry generalizations about the learning of the Middle Ages to such an absurd degree. Alert minds in the twelfth century were fascinated by the excellent rules for correct reasoning formulated by Aristotle and his commentators. As all thoughtful men have done, they thereupon proceeded to try to solve the riddle of the universe and the mystery of existence on the basis of the data they had in hand. Most of them believed sincerely that they had the advantage of a wonderful body of revealed truth with which they tried to harmonize all the wisdom of the ancients as well as their own cogitations. They were extremely earnest in this quest. They welcomed new material with delight. Abelard had known only a few of the logical treatises of Aristotle. In the course of the twelfth century, and the beginning of the next, almost all the other Aristotelian works which are extant were revealed to Western scholarship, for the most part in the form of Latin translations from Greek and Arabic. It would be hard to exaggerate the furor caused by the "New Aristotle" in the thirteenth century. To be sure, there was some opposition to the new books and to some of the Arabic commentaries written on them, but was there ever an important cause which met no opposition? The tide of interest in these books of Aristotle was irresistible and easily swept away all obstacles. They were held out as a drawing-card by the newly established University of Toulouse, which sent a circular letter broadcast in 1229, advertising that "here the books of nature, which have been prohibited at Paris, may be heard by all who wish to investigate thoroughly the innermost secrets of nature."[28] Not long after that,

[27] See below, p. 43, ll. 79–83.

[28] "Libros naturales, qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti, poterunt illic audire qui volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, 131. This letter is translated in *The Nation*, vol. 91 (1910), 415. The best account of the introduction of the "New Aristotle," is in P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroisme Latin au XIII^e Siècle*, 2 vols. (ed. 2, Louvain, 1908, 1911), I, ch. I.

Henri d'Andeli lamented that even at Paris the arts students "care for nothing except to read the books of nature."[29] To understand the medieval universities, it is essential to appreciate the sound intellectual enthusiasm which filled the streets of Paris with thousands of arts students who studied Aristotelian logic and philosophy, and which enticed the most able and the most earnest of the masters of arts into theology.

It is even more important to understand the reverse of this picture. Such eager devotion to those subjects had many drawbacks. As early as the first half of the twelfth century complaints were loud against the excesses of the logicians. The words of John of Salisbury have been quoted so often that it will not be necessary to repeat them in this hasty survey. They are typical utterances of men who saw that scholarship was tending to become superficial; that many men, who could not or would not reach the depths of learning, were making daring and spectacular dialectical flights which astounded the gaping multitudes, but which would meet a disastrous end in the first strong gust of sound scholarship.[30] The thing which is most interesting about John's protest is that he championed the classical belles-lettres which he studied with so much profit and pleasure at the feet of his famous masters of Chartres. If Henri d'Andeli had lived a century earlier, he would have made Chartres the city of Grammar, and John of Salisbury would probably have been depicted as one of her staunchest men-at-arms. Perhaps he would also have mentioned Peter of Blois as one of her allies. Writing to the archdeacon of Nantes (c. 1160), concerning the education of his two nephews, Peter said:

> You say that William has a quicker and sharper mind, because, having neglected the study of grammar and the authors, he flew to the cunning of the logicians where he learned dialectic not

[29] See below, p. 44, l. 92.

[30] Lest any readers might consider an aëronautical figure of speech highly inappropriate in a discussion of the Middle Ages, we print the following story which William of Malmesbury tells concerning Halley's comet, which appeared shortly before the conquest of England by William of Normandy: "Soon after a comet, a star denoting, as they say, change in kingdoms, appeared trailing its extended and fiery train along the sky. Wherefore a certain monk of our monastery, by name Elmer, bowing down with terror at the sight of the brilliant star, wisely exclaimed, 'Thou art come! a matter of lamentation to many a mother art thou come; I have seen thee long since; but I now behold thee much more terrible, threatening to hurl destruction on this country.' He was a man of good learning for those times, of mature age, and in his early youth had hazarded an attempt of singular temerity. He had by some contrivance fastened wings to his hands and feet, in order that, looking upon the fable as true, he might fly like Daedalus, and collecting the air on the summit of a tower, had flown for more than the distance of a furlong; but, agitated by the violence of the wind and the current of air, as well as by the consciousness of his rash attempt, he fell and broke his legs, and was lame ever after. He used to relate as the cause of his failure, his forgetting to provide himself with a tail." William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1887–89), 2 vols., (Rolls Series), I, 276; translated by J. A. Giles, *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle* (London, Bohn, 1847), 251.

as he should have done, in books, but in tablets and notebooks. In such is not the foundation of learning and the subtlety which you praise is harmful to many.[31]

The wail of complaint continued unbroken into the thirteenth century, but it became fainter and fainter, while logic was mounting into the proud position of supremacy which Henri d'Andeli in sorrow was obliged to concede to her. "Beardless youths sit in the chairs of the old professors," groaned the pessimistic Stephen, bishop of Tournai, "and they who are scarcely pupils are anxious to be called masters . . . Neglecting the rules of the arts and discarding the books of good authority, with their sophistications they catch flies of senseless verbiage as in the webs of spiders.'"[32] In his book *On the Nature of Things,* Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) wrote a long chapter on the seven arts in which he sharply satirized the craze for dialectical disputations at Paris, and deplored the decline of interest in literature.[33] Gerald de Barri (d. 1223) likewise took a very determined stand in this matter and pointed out that the undue emphasis on dialectics was in large measure the cause of the decline of ancient literature. He told many an amusing tale to warn his contemporaries of the error of their ways, but his witticisms were not appreciated until two centuries after his death.[34]

Such was the chief disturbance which charged the atmosphere between Paris and Orleans in the time of Henri d'Andeli. His poem itself, however, is a plain refutation of the current notion that the blame for the lack of humanistic enthusiasm must be laid solely at the door of scholasticism, so called. He tells us about many allies of Logic, among whom rode proudly both Civil and Canon Law. It would not be difficult to demonstrate how the study of law minimized other branches of learning in the University of Bologna, but we usually do not

[31] "Willelmum predicas subtilioris vene et acutioris ingenii, eo quod grammatice et auctorum scientia pretermisso volavit ad versutias logicorum, ubi non in libris, sicut solet, dialecticam didicit, sed in scedulis et quaternis. Non est in talibus fundamentum scientie litteralis, multisque perniciosa est ista subtilitas, quam extollis." *Epistola,* No. 101, Migne, *Patr. lat.,* 207, col. 312. Also in Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.,* I, 28.

[32] "Ve duo predicta sunt, et ecce restat tertium ve: facultates quas liberales appellant amissa libertate pristina in tantam servitutem devocantur, ut comatuli adolescentes earum magisteria impudentes usurpent, et in cathedra seniorum sedeant imberbes, et qui nondum norunt esse discipuli laborant ut nominentur magistri. . . . Omissis regulis artium adjectisque libris autenticis artificum muscas inanium verbulorum sophismatibus suis tamquam aranearum tendiculis includunt." Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.,* I, 48. This quotation is from a letter to the pope written between 1192 and 1203.

[33] Alexander Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum,* cap. clxxiii, ed. Wright (Rolls Series), 283–307.

[34] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica,* II, cap. xxxvii, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), II, 348–357. See also C. H. Haskins, "The University of Paris in the Sermons of the Thirteenth Century," in *American Historical Review,* X (1904), 9ff.

think of it as playing that rôle in Paris and in the north of France generally. And yet, towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, the growing popularity of that lucrative science was feared in Paris by those who cherished the humanities. Gerald de Barri lamented the craze for law as one of the most important causes of the neglect of letters. "Some," he says (quoting Radulphus Belvacensis), "are so superficial, that, neglecting the well written books of the poets and of philosophers, they presume to advance from the very rudiments of the arts, that is, from Donatus and Cato, immediately to law, not only to the civil, but even to canon law."[35] He recalls that once he heard a certain professor at Paris proclaim before a multitude of students that the evil days had come which the sibyl had foretold in her prophesy, "The days will come, woe to them, when law will obliterate the study of letters."[36] Canon law found a natural home in Paris. The study of civil law was prohibited at Paris in 1219 by a bull of Pope Honorius III,[37] but apparently no more heed was given to the prohibition than to those directed against the "New Aristotle," for Henri d'Andeli places the civil law even before canon law in the army which marches from Paris.[38]

[35] "Alii superseminati, qui et superficiales dici possunt, qui, praetermissa literatura, poetarum scilicet auctorum, philosophorum, et artium fundamento, statim a Donato et Catone ad leges non solum humanas, sed etiam divinas, se transferre praesumunt." Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica, ibid.*, 349.

[36] "Causam tanti defectus huius et tam generalis hanc esse noveritis, quod literaturae radicem et fundamentum eatenus inconcussum leges imperiales in regnis occiduis jam propemodum, immo praeter modum, hodie suffocarunt. Tempus enim de quo Sibyllae vaticinium olim mentionem fecit (quod magistrum Menervium, principalem Petri Abulardi discipulum et rhetorem incomparabilem, eximium in auditorio suo, Parisiis coram multitudine scholarium recitantem audivimus et plangentem, damnisque futuris valde compatientem) jam advenit, erat autem vaticinium tale: 'Venient dies, vae illis, quibus leges obliterabunt scientiam literarum.'" Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae* Proœmium, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), IV. 7. This passage was partly restored from the quotation of it made by A. Wood, *Antiq. Univer. Oxon.*, 54. The *Speculum* was written about 1220. Gerald had referred to this prophesy of the sibyl before, in his *Gemma, ibid.*, II, 349: "Episcopus autem ille, de quo nunc ultimo locuti sumus [Radulphus Beluacensis], inter superficiales numerari potuit, cujusmodi hodie multos novimus propter leges Justinianas, quae literaturam, urgente cupiditatis et ambitionis incommodo, adeo in multis jam suffocarunt, quod magistrum Mainerium [*sic*] in auditorio scholae suae Parisius dicentem, et damna sui temporis plangentem, audivi, vaticinium illud Sibillae vere nostris diebus esse completum, hoc scilicet: 'Venient dies, et vae illis, quibus leges obliterabunt scientiam literarum.'"

[37] Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 92.

[38] See below, p. 43, ll. 65–68. Also Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I, 323, note 4. Hitherto books which have described the struggles of the ancient classics for breath and light have not given sufficient attention to the rivalry of the study of law. Roman law was as much of a heritage of the ancient world as were the Greek and Latin belles-lettres, and it so happened that law appealed to the minds of the scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries more than did the classics. When the study of law in medieval universities had become stereotyped, largely because of the lack of historical and comparative methods, a strong reaction against it in favor of belles-lettres set in during the fourteenth century. Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Lionardo Bruni, for example, became disgusted with law and turned eagerly to letters.

We have already seen that at the beginning of the fourteenth century Orleans had lost its reputation as the seat of Latin belles-lettres and was famous only for law. If Henri d'Andeli had had the perspective which we have today, he would have feared Law as much as Logic, and he would also have realized that the humanistic schools of Orleans were nursing another viper in their very bosom, namely the *ars dictaminis*.

Rhetoric, in the old Roman sense such as Quintillian described it, never flourished in the Middle Ages. However, the art of writing letters and other important documents remained an important accomplishment in those days when few could write at all. Towards the close of the eleventh century the demand for such writing increased so suddenly that it gave rise to a new and distinct art, the *ars dictaminis*, which in some places practically usurped the whole field of rhetoric, and was often simply called by that name.[39]

As a separate branch of instruction the *ars dictaminis* had its origin in Italy. But it developed in other centers as well, notably in the Loire valley and there especially in Orleans. During the first half of the thirteenth century a sharp rivalry sprang up between the schools of *dictamen* in Bologna and Orleans. Boncompagno was the famous master of the art in Bologna about 1215. He wrote many books on it, the longest and most important of which he called the *Rhetorica antiqua*, or simply the *Boncompagnus*, punning on his own name.[40] He was a ridiculously vain man and was especially jealous of the *dictatores* of Orleans, whom he accused of a bad style due to their undue imitation of ancient classical models. He endeavored to make the new art as practical as possible, and hence advocated that the only proper models were the documents emanating from the papal curia and the imperial chancery, or even the writings of the church fathers. He took delight in the accusation of his adversaries, who said that he considered himself greater than Cicero. He claimed that in his *Rhetoric* he had not followed Cicero or any other author and jokingly added that he could not recall whether he had ever as much as read Cicero. Then in a patronizing tone he said that he had never depreciated the *Rhetoric* of Tullius or ever

[39] For bibliographies on the subject see Haskins, "Life of Medieval Students," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, III (1898), 204, note 2; Molinier, *Sources de l'histoire de France*, II (1902), 204; Abelson, *The Seven Liberal Arts* (New York, 1906) 61, note 1. See also Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, ch. III.

[40] How completely this "Rhetoric" is devoted to the *ars dictaminis* may be seen from the contents of its six books: (1) on student letters, (2) the various forms issued by the Roman Church, (3) letters sent to the Pope, (4) letters to and from emperors, kings and queens, (5) letters to the clergy, (6) letters of noblemen, cities, and peoples.

dissuaded those who wished to imitate it (probably a slur on the masters of Orleans)."

Very likely Henri d'Andeli's bitter hatred of the Lombards in the train of Rhetoric[41] goes back in part to this intense rivalry between Bologna and Orleans, but it must be ascribed mainly to the peculiar turn taken by the *ars dictaminis* in Italy. From the beginning, the art had had very intimate relations with the study of law. Indeed, both law and the *ars dictaminis* branched off simultaneously from the old-fashioned rhetoric into separate disciplines. As time went on, the *ars dictaminis* gradually became a mere handmaiden of law, since there grew up such a great demand for men who could draw up accurate legal documents. The manuals of the art confined themselves more and more to this strictly practical need of the times and aimed at the training of professional notaries. The instruction along this line in the University of Bologna and elsewhere may be compared with the business courses in our modern universities. Boncompagno saw the drift of the times. His *Oliva, Cedrus,* and *Mirrha* deal with privileges, statutes, and wills, and were thus especially designed for the use of notaries. By gradual stages the *ars dictaminis* resolved itself into the *ars notaria.*

Many notaries achieved extraordinary success in Italy. It will be remembered that a considerable number of the early humanists were notaries, notably Salutato. The most famous thirteenth century Italian notary was Rolandinus Passagerius of Bologna. Not all of the boys who trained for this profession were so successful. Numbers of them sought their fortune beyond the Alps and naturally Paris reaped a goodly share of these "Lombards," who pieced together their smattering of legal knowledge and their facility for drawing up wills, deeds, and similar documents in order to filch away many a heritage from the foolish people who came to them for advice. In short, they were the shyster lawyers of the time.

Apparently Henri d'Andeli did not realize how antagonistic to the ancient classics was the simple pursuit of the *ars dictaminis* even at Orleans, and even when it was not so strictly specialized as it became in northern Italy, which sent

[41] "Est preterea liber iste [*Palma*] mee rethorice prologus, licet in rethorica Tullium non fuerim imitatus. Nunquam enim memini me Tullium legisse nec secundum alicuius doctrinam me aliquid in rethoricis traditionibus vel dictamine fecisse profiteor, nisi quod quandoque causa deridendi emulos me Buchimenonem appellavi. Verumtamen nunquam Tullii depravavi rethoricam nec eam imitari volentibus dissuasi." *Palma,* in C. Sutter, *Aus Leben und Schriften des Magister Buoncompagno* (Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1894), 105. See also *ibid.,* 42.

[42] See below, p. 43, ll. 68–74; p. 51, ll. 224–229; and p. 60, ll. 448–9.

the hated "Lombards" to Paris. In a model letter, which comes from the diocese of Orleans, one student advises another to abandon the profitless and even harmful pursuit of poetry and to hasten to take up the *ars dictaminis* which holds out such fair prospects of worldly success.[45] About the middle of the thirteenth century an itinerant *dictator,* Ponce of Provence, heralded his coming by sending a letter to the masters and students of Orleans, in which he describes his art in the most glowing colors of allegory. He tells how, when wandering over hills and valleys, he met an exceedingly beautiful maiden. Unable to resist her charms, he prostrated himself at her feet and begged to be allowed to serve her. She graciously took his right hand, raised him from the ground, and showed him a large and beautiful city. No one might enter it except by seven portals typifying the manifold relations which exist between men and women of every station in life. Through these portals she led him into the city where he saw eighteen palaces built of precious stones, with regulations as to who might enter them and at what times and for what business. Seeing all these wonders, he cried out,

O beautiful maiden, tell me your name and to whom this city belongs and after whom it is named. And she answered briefly, "I am called *Rhetoric.* This city is named *Practica dictatoria.* Although my sister Grammar says that she is my equal in this city, nevertheless I have supreme authority, and since I have but few good citizens, I give you the keys to the seven portals representing all the doctrines of the *ars dictaminis,* on conditions that you open them faithfully to all who wish to enter."

Ponce concludes: "Therefore let all those come to me who in a short time desire to be the best *dictatores;* for I am he who has the keys and I am ready to open to all who are fit."[46]

Many students must have been enticed away from their ancient classics by this flowery appeal which exalted the *ars dictaminis* high above grammar.

[45] "Amico suo carissimo, C., dilectus et compatriota suus, B., magis utilibus minus utilia posthabere. Vir discretus honesta sequitur et ea maxime que majorem fructum prestare debeant et honorem. Quos ducit mollicies etatis insipide et infelix lascivia, theatrales, se conferunt ad meretriculas et cum molli versiculo nimisque tenero pruritus generant auditori cuilibet. . . . Vero enim vero qui dictandi secuntur scientiam, ad reges veniunt et prelatis ecclesie traduntur a regibus, ad honores ecclesiasticos interventus sui potentia promovendi." Valois, *De arte scribendi epistolas* (Paris, 1880), 25–26.

[46] " 'O virgo speciosissima, dic michi nomen tuum, et cujus est ista civitas, et quo nomine nuncupatur.' Et ipsa respondit breviter: 'Ego vocor Rethorica; ista civitas apellatur Practica dictatoria. Et quamvis soror mea Gramatica se dicat fore in hac civitate meam proporcionariam [*sic*: porcionariam?], ego tamen optineo principatum. Et quoniam paucos bonos habitatores habeo, tibi claves accommodo, tali federe quod predictas VII portas, per quas tota doctrina epistolaris dictaminis figuratur, aperias fideliter et benigne volentibus.' Ad me veniant igitur qui esse desiderant in brevi tempore optimi dictatores. Ego enim sum qui claves habeo et sum paratus quibuscunque ydoneis aperire. Valete." This letter accompanied the *Summa de dictamine* of Ponce which appeared in 1249 and 1252. It was first printed by L. Delisle, "Les écoles d'Orléans," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France,* VII (1869), 150–152.

Ponce boldly promised his students that he would pass by the fables of the authors and lead them directly to that pearl of knowledge, the *ars dictaminis*.[45]

Next to the money-making "Lombards," Henri d'Andeli hated the physicians who built them fine houses in Paris from the fees they collected for their poisons.[46] Unfortunately the history of medicine in the Middle Ages is still very largely a sealed book.[47] Consequently, it would be very difficult to measure the degree of competition between this lucrative study and the ancient classics in medieval schools and universities. The hatred of physicians on the part of our poet naturally recalls Petrarch's aversion for the same class, which seems to indicate a general restlessness on the part of humanists in the presence of numerous financially successful disciples of Galen and Hippocrates. The interest in medicine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cannot be studied apart from the interest in the natural sciences generally, another subject which is still awaiting the pioneer historian.[48] At present it is safe to say scarcely more than that there was as distinct a rise and as sudden a decline of interest in the natural sciences as in the ancient classics. Interest in the sciences, however, was still on the upward curve at the time when the classics were already on the downward curve, and hence the classics probably suffered from the popularity of the natural sciences in the thirteenth century in some such a way as they do today. The "New Aristotle" could not fail to arouse new interest in the physical world. We have already seen how eagerly the arts students of the first half of the thirteenth century read the Aristotelian books of nature as "philosophy."[49] The broadening of the old *quadrivium* foreshadowed a new era in science. Timid minds feared the unholy curiosity about the hidden secrets of nature. Jacques de Vitry preached to the students of Paris against the branches of the *quadrivium* as vain learning in the same sermon in which

[45] "Incipiunt dictamina magistri Poncii. Universis scolaribus qui decorari cupiunt epistolaris dictaminis scientia gloriosa P. Magister in dictamine salutem et neglectis actorum fabulis ad margaritam dictaminis properare." C. Thurot, *Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Age*, = vol. XXII, part 2 of *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, 1868), p. 39.

[46] See below, pp. 45–47, ll. 99–129.

[47] The present state of scholarship on the subject is outlined in the "Literaturbericht" of Paul Diepgen, "Geschichte der Medizin: Eröffnungsbericht," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, X (1913), 465–480.

[48] Recent, but brief and inadequate, sketches may be found in F. Strunz, *Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910); F. Dannemann, *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung und in ihrem Zusammenhange*, I (Leipzig, 1910). See also the introduction of Ch.-V. Langlois, *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge*. (Paris, 1911).

[49] See above, p. 20.

he denounced the ancient classics.[50] Students dissatisfied with instruction in the sciences in Western Christendom travelled abroad to study. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Englishman Daniel de Morlai went to Spain to learn sciences from the famous Arab teachers at Toledo.[51] Henri d'Andeli associated Naples with Toledo when he thought of necromancy.[52] The island home of Frederick II should be searched with the utmost care by the historian of medieval natural sciences, for that was the clearing-house of scientific notions of the day.[53] Perhaps such a study would reveal the relations of England with Sicily and the Mediterranean world generally, and would throw some light on the truly remarkable scientific works of the Englishmen, Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon. At a time when an Albertus Magnus could be an important botanist, and when the experimental method was an open secret, the popularity of natural sciences might well be feared by humanists who were being pushed to the wall by so many other interests.

In the thirteenth century, as in previous and subsequent centuries, the ancient classics were sometimes opposed by strict clerical feeling which decried them as useless and dangerous heathen products. Alexander of Villedieu, a grammarian of Paris about 1200, strongly voiced this sentiment in the following direct attack on the humanists of Orleans:

> Orleans teaches us to sacrifice to the gods, pointing out the festivals of Faunus, of Jove, and of Bacchus. This is the pestiferous chair of learning, in which, according to the testimony of David, sits no holy man, avoiding the baleful doctrine, which, as in Orleans, is like a disease spreading contagion among the multitude. Nothing should be read which is contrary to the Scriptures.[54]

One of the reasons why Alexander of Villedieu wrote his famous grammar, called the *Doctrinale,* was to check the tendency to read objectionable literature

[50] *Sermo coram scolaribus.* Referred to by Denifle, *Die Universitäten* (Berlin, 1885), I, 100.

[51] See Helinandus' reference to Toledo above, p. 17, note 21.

[52] See below, p. 48, ll. 130–132.

[53] We need a new work on Michael Scot. H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friederichs II," *Historische Zeitschrift,* CVIII (1912), 473–540, has shown how untrustworthy is J. W. Brown, *An inquiry into the life and legends of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897).

[54] "Sacrificare deis nos edocet Aurelianis,
Indicens festum Fauni Iovis atque Liei.
Hec est pestifera, David testante, cathedra,
In qua non sedit vir sanctus, perniciosam
Doctrinam fugiens, que, sicut habetur ibidem,
Est quasi diffundens multis contagia morbus.
Non decet illa legi que sunt contraria legi."

Ecclesiale, Prologue. Bibl. Nat. MS Lat. 14927, fol. 164. This portion of the prologue is printed by Thurot, *Notices et extraits,* XXII, pt. 2, 115. For Alexander of Villedieu, see D. Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei* (Berlin, 1893; *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica,* XII).

in the schools. He aimed particularly at the *Elegies* of Maximianus,[45] and hoped that the *Doctrinale*, with its copious illustrative material, would drive the harmful trifles of Maximianus out of the schoolrooms. Some of the best disciples of the famous schools of Chartres, notably Peter of Blois (d. 1204), seriously injured the cause of the classics by writing light and scurrilous verses, which the moralists of the age pointed to as the result of familiarity with the Roman poets.[46] Even in the anonymous list of books mentioned above,[47] which recommends so many Latin classical writers, a note of warning is sounded not to let youth gather those flowers of literature among which a serpent lies hidden.[48] Henri d'Andeli himself confessed that the cause of the authors would have been stronger if it were not for the questionable fables taught in connection with them.[49]

Curiously enough, Henri d'Andeli included as allies of grammar certain Latin masterpieces of his day which actually became serious rivals of the ancient classical poets. In the twelfth century much excellent Latin poetry was written which deservedly became popular. Just as the pagan poets were often crowded out of the schools by the early Christian poets, such as Prudentius and Sedulius, so the works of medieval authors frequently displaced the classics or at least were read side by side with them. These new poems were written in a style that resembled the spoken Latin current at the time and some of them had distinct literary value. We still sing some of the grand Latin hymns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In his poem Henri d'Andeli mentions several long poems which were very popular in his day: the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille, the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme, the *Archithrenius* of Jean de Hauteville, the *Anti-Claudianus* of Alain de Lille, and the *Aurora*, or versified bible, of Peter

[45] Maximianus lived about 600 A.D. The most recent edition with full bibliography is that by R. Webster, *The Elegies of Maximianus* (Princeton Press, 1900). H. F. Haase, *De medii aevi studiis philologicis*, 1856, 20–24, thinks that works of this kind were tolerated because they were explained allegorically; see E. Michael, *Culturzustände des Deutschen Volkes während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, III (1903), 286, note 3. Also see G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus; a medieval text-book," *Modern Philology*, VII (1909), 177; and R. Ellis, "On the Elegies of Maximianus." *American Journal of Philology*, V (1884), 1–15, especially pp. 7 ff.

[46] Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 315–17.

[47] Page 15.

[48] "Placuit tamen viris autenticis carmina amatoria cum satiris subducenda esse a manibus adolescencium, ac si eis dicitur,

'Qui legitis flores et humi nascencia fraga,
frigidus, o pueri, fugite hinc, latet anguis in herba.'"

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge MS 385, p. 49. Now printed by C. H. Haskins in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, 91.

[49] See below, p. 52, ll. 254–7.

Riga. Apparently he did not forsee that the multiplication of such Latin books would ever injure the cause of the ancient classics. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, however, Henry of Ghent (d. 1295) wrote that in his day the *Alexandreis* was read to such an extent that on its account the ancient poets were neglected.[40] In the fourteenth century it was still read in universities of southern France from which the Latin classics had long ago vanished.[41]

Since Henri d'Andeli did not suspect the competition of recent Latin books with the classics, he naturally could not foresee that some day masterpieces would be written in the vernaculars of Europe which would seriously crowd the ancient classics. We cannot, in justice, take him to task on account of lack of such foresight, for he lived before Dante made the momentous decision to write his *Divine Comedy* in the vernacular. The fact that the *Battle of the Seven Arts* is written in French foreshadows that rivalry which must have smouldered even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and which burst forth in flame in the French Academy in the time of Louis XIV.

There may have been other causes of the decline of interest in the classics which our poet, who lived in the midst of them, failed to see and which we have hitherto failed to diagnose. It should be remembered that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries comprised an era of great material development. In many ways a "backwoods" Europe was being transformed into a Europe with large, well-built cities and highways for travel and commerce. The crusades had ushered in the period of expansion which one day was to lead to the finding of new worlds. This practical, feverishly active commercial age did not create the best conditions for purely humanistic pursuits. It is always well worth while to reflect upon the bearing which general conditions of life may have upon such a particular subject as we have in hand.

But we must not even appear to be giving the impression that Henri d'Andeli lacked perspicacity. Let us turn to his curious poem to see for ourselves how clearly he saw the drift of scholarship in the thirteenth century.

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[40] "Scripsit [Gautier] gesta Alexandri Magni eleganti metro. Qui liber in scholis grammaticorum tantae dignitatis est hodie, ut prae ipso veterum poetarum lectio negligatur." *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, cap. 20. See G. Meier, *Die Sieben Freien Künste im Mittelalter* (Einsiedeln, 1885–87), 29.

[41] At the University of Toulouse lectures were given "de Historiis Alexandri" in 1328, which probably signifies the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille. Fournier, *Les statuts et privilèges des universités françaises* (4 vols.; Paris, 1890–94) I, 501.

3. THE POEM AND THE AUTHOR

La Bataille des VII Ars of Henri d'Andeli was unknown until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when le C^en^ Legrand d'Aussy gave an incomplete abstract of it with an interesting introduction and explanatory notes.[62] This secured it a brief mention in the *Histoire littéraire de la France* in 1824, by Daunou, who spoke very slightingly of it.[63] However, the poem was printed in 1839 by Jubinal, in an appendix to the works of Rutebeuf.[64] When the *Histoire littéraire* again took notice of it in 1856 (XXIII, 225), the tone was more respectful and the commentator even vouchsafed to add a brief abstract. It continued to be the fashion, however, to give scant attention to the poem[65] until A. Héron brought out a new edition in 1880.[66] This was a great improvement upon that of Jubinal. Besides, Héron's introduction and notes are exceedingly helpful. Unfortunately, this excellent edition had such a limited circulation

[62] "La bataille des Sept Arts, Fiction Critique et Satirique, par Henri, d'Andeli, tirée des Mss. 7218, au f° 135, et S. Germ. n° 1830, au fol. 112 v°." *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, An VII [1800]) V, 496–511.

[63] In a long article entitled "Discours sur l'état des lettres en France au XIII^e^ siècle," XVI, 217, Daunou calls the *Battle of the Seven Arts* "une sorte d'épopée burlesque, à peu près dans le goût de la Défaite des bouts-rimés de Sarazin," and then characterizes it thus: "Nous pourrions ranger cette production à la suite des poëmes épiques ou romanesque, si elle ne roulait sur des controverses scholastique, et si elle n'était d'ailleurs d'une extrême insignifiance."

U. Chevalier, *Repertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age: Bio-Bibliographie* (Paris, 1905) I, 2054, gives references to some early articles on Henri d'Andeli which were inaccessible to me. See, in addition, a summary of the poem by A. de Foulques de Villaret, *L'enseignement des lettres et des sciences dans l'Orléanais* (Orléans, 1875), 118–121.

[64] A. Jubinal, (ed.) *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf* (1839), II, 415–435. Second edition, 1875, III, 325–347 (Bibliothèque Elzevirienne). In vol. I, 87, note 2 of this edition, Jubinal briefly summed up the conditions which gave rise to the poem. This note forms the introduction to a rare reprint entitled *La querelle des anciens & des modernes au XIII^e^ siècle, ou La Bataille des VII Arts*, par Henri d'Andeli, trouvère du temps de Saint Louis. Paris, chez Frédéric Henri, Libraire. 1875. Extrait du troisième et dernier volume des *Œuvres complètes de Rutebeuf*, trouvère du treizième siècle, faisant partie de la Bibliothèque Elzevirienne. Tirage à cent exemplaires seulement."

[65] See e.g. Victor Le Clerc, *Histoire littéraire de la France au quatorzième siècle* (ed. 2; Paris, 1865) I, 430. R. v. Liliencron, "Über den Inhalt der allgemeinen Bildung in der Zeit der Scholastik," Festrede gehalten in der Sitzung der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, 1876, 47, had enough penetration to recognize that the poem has some value. He gave a brief abstract of its contents.

[66] *Œuvres de Henri d'Andeli, trouvère Normand du XIII^e^ siècle.* Publiées avec introduction, variantes, notes et glossaire par A. Héron. Rouen, Imprimerie de Espérance Cagniard, 1880. (Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles). See the important review of it by Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XI (1882), 137–144.

that careful workers like Willman,[67] Denifle,[68] Rashdall,[69] Norden,[70] and Sandys,[71] failed to see it and still depended upon the faulty text of Jubinal.

Today the edition of Héron is so well noted that no specialist in the field could overlook it.[72] Nevertheless, the poem of Henri d'Andeli is not known as widely as it should be, and its proper setting in the intellectual history of Europe has not been secured. In this age, when so much is said for and against the ancient classics, this long forgotten record of a similar contest in the thirteenth century should be pondered by all those who are interested in the literary treasures of ancient Greece and Rome and in the history of their preservation and their influence on modern civilization. The following rendering into English is the first attempt to translate the poem into any language.[73] The translation does not claim to have any literary value; it simply attempts to be a faithful, line for line, prose reproduction of the contents of the original.[74] Even so, it is hoped that it will be found to be more helpful than the brief and incomplete abstracts of the poem which appear in the books just cited in the notes. This edition is addressed primarily to historians interested in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages, and, more widely, to the large class of scholars in various fields who are interested in the history of the ancient classics throughout the ages. Fortunately, it will also make some appeal to Romanic philologists, because the University authorities have kindly consented to reproduce the two extant manuscripts of the poem in facsimile. This makes it unnecessary to give a list of the numerous variant readings.[75]

[67] *Didaktik als Bildungslehre* (Braunschweig, 1882) I, 267; (ed. 4, Braunschweig, 1909), 179.

[68] *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1885) I, 253, note 141.

[69] *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895) II, 138.

[70] *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898) II, 728.

[71] *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge University Press, 1903) I, 650. Sandys cites Héron in his second edition of vol. I (1906), 677.

[72] Gröber *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1902) II, Pt. 1, 820, should be sufficient safeguard. Unfortunately, Gröber gives a wrong date of publication, 1881 instead of 1880.

[73] C. W. Stubbs, *Cambridge and its Story* (London, 1904), 68, translated about a score of the first lines.

[74] Professor Paul Shorey struck off a very happy rendering of lines 394–397:

"Soothed him up with lofty talk
And bore him up on high.
And ere that he had learnt to walk
Would teach him how to fly."

Classical Philology, VI (1911), 241. Perhaps, however, even this master of words would lose heart in some of the dreary and obscure reaches of the poem if he were to attempt to sustain such a style of translation.

[75] We take this opportunity to give special thanks to Professor Raymond Weeks of Columbia University for much valuable help in editing and translating the poem.

The poem has come down to us in two manuscripts written in the second half of the thirteenth century and now both in Paris.[76] Héron[77] has made a satisfactory analysis of all the extant manuscripts which contain the works of our poet. His work as an editor was considered very praiseworthy by Gaston Paris,[78] who made some corrections and offered suggestions utilized in this present edition, which is, however, based on an independent examination of photographs of the two manuscripts.[79]

Little is known about the author of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, Henri d'Andeli. The most painstaking researches on the part of Paul Meyer[80] and A. Héron[81] have revealed only the merest fragments of information. Our trouvère wrote other pieces which have come down to us. The most famous of them is the *Lai d'Aristote*, which was very well known throughout the later Middle Ages when the name of its author had been forgotten. Two other poems belong to Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des Vins* and *Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe*.[82] This was Philippe de Grève, who was chancellor of Paris from 1218 to 1236.[83] From the tone of *Le Dit* it is evident that Henri must have been a great admirer of the chancellor. When Henri speaks of a chancellor in the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, who *was* the best clerk in the Isle de France,[84] he probably refers to this Philippe and that would place the date of our poem after 1236. A *Henricus de Andeliaco* is mentioned under the date March 20, 1259, in the *Regestum visitationum* of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen. This may well have been our poet, who may have attached himself to the archbishop after the death of his beloved Philip the cancellor in 1236. We have no knowledge

[76] Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 837, f. 135[b] to f. 137[c]; and 19152, f. 112[d] to f. 114[b]. The first of these presents the better and more complete text. Héron, 142, believes that both of them go back to a common source which is lost.

[77] *Op. cit.*, xcv ff.

[78] *Romania*, XI (1882), 137–144.

[79] MS 837, reproduced on plates I–VI, will be designated MS A; MS 19152, plates VII–X, MS B. In order to facilitate reference to the facsimiles, the lines have been numbered on the plates in the same way as in the text and translation. The numbers on the plates of MS B will indicate at a glance what lines are omitted in that manuscript.

[80] "Henri d'Andeli et le chancelier Philippe," *Romania*, I (1872), 190–215.

[81] *Op. cit.*, vii ff. Héron added a few scraps of information in his edition of the *Chansons de Roger d'Andeli* (Paris, 1883), p. xxxvi, note 1.

[82] F. Augustin, *Sprachliche Untersuchung über die Werke Henri d'Andeli's*. Nebst einem Anhang enthaltend: *La Bataille des Vins*, diplomatischer Abdruck der Berner HS (Marburg, 1886; also in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, XLIV), believes, with scarcely a show of reason, that Henri was not the author of *Le Dit du Chancelier Philippe*.

[83] Denifle et Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, I, p. xx.

[84] See below, p. 44, ll. 84–86.

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about the death of Henri d'Andeli. He was a clerk, was well acquainted with the University of Paris, and was probably either a Norman or a Picard, although his French is that of the Isle de France.

All the circumstantial evidence tends to indicate that the *Battle of the Seven Arts* was written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[35] It is for others to judge of its literary value and its place in the history of literature. Gaston Paris believed that the allegorical form of the poem was an imitation or rather a parody of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.[36] Héron gives Henri d'Andeli rather high praise as one of the illustrious poets of his time.[37] We are content to remain thankful to him for one of the most enlightening and interesting glimpses we have into the intellectual history of the thirteenth century.

[35] See additional chronological data below in the notes on ll. 48, 52, 53, 54, 92, 101, 103, 106, 402.

[36] *Romania*, XI, 141.

[37] "par la finesse, la convenance, l'habileté de composition et, enfin, la variété qui distinguent ses œuvres, il me semble digne d'être placé à un rang élevé parmi les auteurs qui ont illustré le XIII[e] siècle, époque à laquelle les lettres et les arts ont brillé d'un si vif éclat." *Op. cit.*, p. cxxi.

II. LA BATAILLE DES .VII. ARS

OF HENRI D'ANDELI, TROUVÈRE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

LA BATAILLE DES .VII. ARS	THE BATTLE OF THE SEVEN ARTS
Paris et Orliens ce sont .ij.	Paris and Orleans are at odds.
C'est granz domages et granz deuls	It is a great loss and a great sorrow
Que li uns a l'autre n'acorde.	That the two do not agree.
Savez por qui est la descorde?	Do you know the reason for the discord?
Qu'il ne sont pas d'une science;	It is because they differ about learning;
Quar Logique, qui toz jors tence,	For Logic, who is always wrangling,
Claime les autors autoriaus	Calls the authors authorlings
Et les clers d'Orliens glomeriaus.	And the students of Orleans mere grammar-boys.

N. B.—The notes are numbered according to the lines to which they refer.

7. The word *autor* or *auctor* (Latin *auctor* or *actor*) presents many difficulties. Du Cange throws no light on it whatsoever. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries it usually signified "Latin poet," specifically, "ancient classical Latin poet." (See *Romania*, XI, 143). That is the meaning here. When the Latin classics ceased to be read in the course of the thirteenth century, the Latin word *auctores* or *actores* was applied to certain small reading-books such as Cato, Avianus, Aesop, etc., as in fourteenth century documents of the universities of Toulouse and Perpignan (Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 501; II, 678). Carré, *L'Enseignement Secondaire à Troyes* (Paris, 1888), 19, speaking of the first half of the fifteenth century, says that there were then eight or nine books that might be spoken of as *actores*. He names: (1) *Cato*, (2) *Theodulus*, (3) *Facetus*, (4) *Carmen de contempti mundi*, (5) *Tobias Mathei Vindocinensis*, (6) *Fabulae Esopi*, (7) *Alani parabolae*, (8) *Floretus*. Consult G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus: a mediaeval textbook," *Modern Philology*, VII (1910), 179 ff., on these *Auctores octo*. See also notes below, on lines 337, 338, 339. The vagueness of the meaning and history of this word emphasizes the great need of a new dictionary of medieval Latin. The lexicographer who is interested in the Latin usage of this word should consult Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, 53–55, and the literature referred to on those pages in the notes; also Murray, *New English Dictionary*, under the word *author;* Rashdall, *Universities*, II. 67, note 2; Fournier, "Les Bibl. des Col. de l'Univ. de Toulouse," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, LI, 472; *Notices et extraits*, XXII, pt. 2, 424–25; XXVII, pt. 2, 19.

8. The origin and form of the word *glomeriaus* have perplexed Héron (*op. cit.*, p. 135) and Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 141). Fortunately the meaning is quite clear from an old institution of the University of Cambridge. In the thirteenth century there existed in Cambridge the office of *Magister Glomeriae*, a superintendent of the grammar-schools appointed by the Archdeacon of Ely. The grammar-boys over whom he had jurisdiction were called *glomerelli*. See Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 555, 598; Kaufmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten*, 1888, I, 320, note 1; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, II, 728, note 2; and the *Century Dictionary* and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under the words *glomerel* and *glomery*. The best account of the word *glomery* may now be found in the *Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe, III (1912), 116.

Owing to the neglect of the study of language and literature in medieval universities, grammar, together with the reading of ancient classic and other literature, tended to be crowded out of the university curriculum into the preparatory or grammar schools, which had little or no connection with the universities. In some places, however, notably in Toulouse, there was a separate faculty of grammar in the University at least as early as the fourteenth century, and regular degrees in grammar were conferred. See Paetow, *The Arts Course*, 55–60.

Si vaut bien chascuns .iiij. Omers,	Each, she says, is well worth four Homers,
Quar il boivent a granz gomers	For they drink huge bumpers
Et sevent bien versefier	And are so skillful at versifying
Que d'une fueille d'un figuier	That about a single leaf of a fig-tree
Vous feront il .l. vers.	They will compose you fifty verses.
Mès il redient que por vers	But they retort that verily
Qu'il claiment la Dyaletique,	They call Dialectic,
Par mal despit, quiqueliquique.	In evil spite, a cock-a-doodle-doo.
Cil de Paris, li clerc Platon,	As for those of Paris, the clerks of Plato,
Ne les prisent pas un bouton.	They do not think them worth a button.

9. *Omers* is the *Homerus latinus*, or *Iliados epitome*, or *Ilias latina*, a Latin paraphrase of Homer's *Iliad* in 1070 hexameters. It appears to have been written in the time of the first Roman emperors. Apparently it was used as a reading book even in the old Roman schools. The author seems to have been a certain Italicus. M. Schanz, in Müller's *Handbuch*, VIII, II, 2 (ed. 3, 1913), 118–123; G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1912), 2 ff. See *Das altfranzösiche Rolandslied*, edited by E. Stengel (Leipzig, 1900), lines 2615–16:

"——Co'st l'amirailz li vielz d'antiquitét,
Tuz survesquiet et Virgilie et Omer——"

16. Both manuscripts read *quiquelique*, but we have followed the emendation of Gaston Paris, who pointed out that the line is short one syllable. (*Romania*, XI, 141.) *Quiqueliquique* is a derisive term of uncertain meaning. See Héron, 136; Ducange, *Glossaire françois;* and *Glossarium* under the word *archidiaconus*. In all probability it is an imitative word to designate the crowing of a cock, like the modern Spanish word *quiquiriqui* and the German *kikiriki*. Applied to logicians, it may refer to their loquaciousness, or to their haughty demeanor.

17. Plato was very much more popular in the eleventh and twelfth than in the thirteenth century, when he was well-nigh crowded out by Aristotle. Although only a fragment of the *Timaeus*, the *Phaedo* and the *Meno*, in Latin translations, were known at any period in western Europe during the Middle Ages, Plato was highly esteemed by the humanistic masters of the schools of Chartres and elsewhere. Thus Fulbert declared him "superior to all other thinkers of antiquity." (Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 117 ff., 244 ff.). It should be recalled that when humanism again had its day in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Platonism once more rivalled Aristotelianism. (See Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums* (1893), II, 118 ff.).

The extant statutes of the medieval universities do not permit us to say that Plato was ever the subject of lectures. (Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 37, note 3). There can be no doubt, however, that he was still studied in Paris during the thirteenth century. The evidence in the *Battle of the Seven Arts* is supported by John Garland in his *Ars lectoria ecclesiae* (*Accentarius*), Bruges MS 546, fol. 77 r°, written in 1234:

"Parisius superis gaudens tamquam paradisus
Philosophos alit egregios, ubi quicquid Athenae,
Quicquid Aristoteles, quicquid Plato vel Galienus
Ediderant, legitur; ubi pascit pagina sacra
Subtiles animas celesti pane refectas."

See also his *Exempla honestae vitae*, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 10358, fol. 284 r° l. 20, and fol. 286 v° l. 9.

Logique a les clers en ses mains,
Et Gramaire rest mise au mains.
Gramaire s'est molt coroucie;
Si a sa baniere drecie
Dehors Orliens, enmi les blez;
La a el ses os assamblez.
Omers et li viex Claudiens,
Donaet, Perse, Precïens,

However, Logic has the students,
Whereas Grammar is reduced in numbers.
Grammar is much wrought up;
And has raised her banner
Outside of Orleans, in the midst of the grain-fields;
There she assembled her army.
Homer and old Claudian,
Donatus, Persius, Priscian,

20. Both MSS read *s'est*, but we follow the emendation suggested by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XI, 141.

24. The army of Grammar will be seen to consist of the following, (1) Grammars: Priscian, Donatus, Martianus Capella, and the medieval authors, Alexander of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune; (2) Primary readers: Cato, Avianus, and Theodulus; also Orthography personified; (3) Ancient Classics: "Homer," Claudian, Persius, Juvenal, Horace, Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Terence, Ovid, Seneca and Martial; (4) Early Christian poets: Sedulius, Prosper, Prudentius, and Arator; (5) Medieval Latin poets: Jean de Hauteville, Matthew of Vendôme, Gautier de Châtillon, Peter Riga, Alain de Lille, Primat of Orleans, Bernard Sylvester, Pamphilus, and Gautier (?); (6) Various unknown poets of Orleans: Jean de St. Morisse, Odo, Garniers, and Balsamon.

Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 138, note 4, says: "Most of the Latin poets are mentioned in this composition, but few of the prose writers (Seneca is an exception), which shows that the classical culture of Orleans was far behind the level attained by Chartres in the preceding century. Even the most unintelligent study of the Latin Aristotle was better than that of the silver-age poets who absorbed the energies of the scholars of Orleans." Surely this judgment is too harsh. After all, the list includes Terence, Virgil and Horace. The omission of prose authors does not prove that they were never read in Orleans. Henri d'Andeli was a poet and hence he puts in action the poets, in whom he is particularly interested, as Legrand d'Aussy pointed out as early as 1800 (*Notices et Extraits*, V, 502).

25 For *Omers* see note above on line 9.

Claudian was a pagan poet born in Alexandria in the second half of the fourth century, famous as a panegyrist of Stilicho, Theodosius and others. He was one of Stilicho's dependents Almost all his works are in Latin. His *In Rufinum* gave rise to the *Anti-Claudianus* of Alain de Lille; see below, note on line 327.

26. Donatus was a teacher of grammar in Rome about 350 A.D. He wrote two text-books, a primary grammar, the *ars minor*, and a larger treatise, the *ars grammatica* (or *major*), of which only the third part, the so-called *Barbarismus*, was read widely in medieval schools (See note on line 232, below). When grammarians cite Donatus without qualification, they always mean the *Ars minor*.

Priscian taught grammar in Constantinople about 500 A.D. and published his lectures as the *Institutionum grammaticarum libri xviii*. This grammar was designed for more advanced students. The first sixteen books came to be known as *Priscianus maior*. They deal with the eight parts of speech. The last two books, which treat of syntax, were called *Priscianus minor*. Donatus and Priscian had absolute sway in medieval schools until the twelfth century, when an attempt was made to improve the teaching of grammar by the introduction of new text-books designed for students who did not learn Latin in infancy as did the youth for whom Donatus and Priscian were written (See note on line 202, below).

Cil bon chevalier autoristre
Et cil bon escuier menistre,
S'esmurent tuit avoec Gramaire
Quant ele issi de son aumaire.
Li chevalier d'Orliens s'esmurent
Qui des armés aus autors furent:
Mestre Jehans de Saint Morisse,
Qui set ses autors a devise,
Oede, Garniers, et Balsamon,
Qui avoit escrit .i. saumon
Sor son escu, entre .ij. dars,
D'un poivre chaut o les pennars,
Plus noir que coille de provoire,
Por les poissons roiaus de Loire
Et por boivre les vins d'Orliens
Qui nessent sanz gresse de fiens.
Lors n'i ot il ne geu ne ris,
Lor chemin tindrent vers Paris.
Dame Logique l'oï dire;
Si cria toute plaine d'ire:
"Lasse! j'ai perdu mes confors
"Quant Raoul de Builli est mors."

Those good author knights
And those good squires who serve them,
All set out with Grammar
When she went forth from her bookcase.
The knights of Orleans set out
Who were men-at-arms of the authors:
Master John of Saint Morisse,
Who knows his authors as well as one could wish,
Odo, Garnier and Balsamon,
Who had inscribed a salmon
On his shield, between two dace,
With a hot pepper volant,
Blacker than charcoal,
A relish for the royal fish of the Loire
And for drinking the wines of Orleans
Which grow without the aid of fertilizers.
Then without jest or laughter,
They marched toward Paris.
Dame Logic heard of it;
She cried out full of wrath:
"Alas! I lost my support
"When Raoul de Builli died."

Persius lived in Italy 34–62 A.D. This youthful moralist's satires were popular in the Middle Ages. See lines 94–96, below.

28. The knights are Homer, Claudian, and Persius; the squires are Donatus and Priscian.

35. John of Saint Morisse, Odo, Garniers, and Balsamon were either contemporaries of Henri d'Andeli or older poets who had a reputation in or about Orleans. A diligent search failed to reveal their identity. The guesses that have been made concerning them may be consulted in Héron, 138 ff. On Odo of Orleans (d. 1113), suggested by Héron, see also H. Wattenbach in *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, (1891) 100–104. For Garniers consult also Clerval, *Les écoles des Chartres*, 320. See also Héron, 140–143, for interesting notes concerning the curious shield of Balsamon described in lines 36–42.

It has occurred to Professor G. L. Hamilton that the use of the name of Balsamon may be a bit of a mystification on the part of the poet. He wonders whether Henri d'Andeli, when he wrote l. 35, might have had in mind the following famous passage from the *Metamorphosis Goliae episcopi*, edited by T. Wright in *The Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, (*Camden Society Publications*), p. 28, lines 197–200.

"Celebrem theologum vidimus Lumbardum,
cum Yvone, Helyam Petrum, et Bernardum,
quorum *opobalsamum*, spiratos, et nardum,
et professi plurimi sunt Abaielardum."

48. Raoul de Builli. A Radalphus is mentioned as abbot of St. Victor of Paris in 1237, and again in 1248 as a ci-devant abbot of St. Victor. Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 159, 210. If this should turn out to be our Raoul, his dates would furnish a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*.

	Ses genz manda devers Tornai	She marshalled her forces near Tournai
50	Par dant Pierron de Cortenai,	Under Sir Pierre de Courtenai, 50
	Uns logiciens molt tres sages.	A very learned logician.
	La fu mestre Jehans li pages,	There was master John the rustic,
	Et Pointlasne, cil de Gamaches,	And Pointlasne, he of Gamaches,

49. Tornai. Héron, 143, suggests that this refers to a house which the bishop of Tournai had near the wall of Philip Augustus on the ancient Rue Bordet or Bordelle (now Rue Descartes) which terminated in a gate of that name near the abbey of Sainte Geneviève. About 1350 a bishop of Tournai established the College of Tournai on that spot, near the College of Boncour which was created about the same time. Later the two were joined with the College of Navarre. Today the Ecole Polytechnique occupies the site.

Thus we should picture the army of Logic drawn up on the hill of Saint Geneviève in Paris ready to march out towards Orleans. It will be seen that the army of Logic consisted of (1) The "*trivium*" and "*quadrivium*" accompanied by certain more or less obscure masters of Paris. Special mention is made of Rhetoric, represented by the Lombards, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. (2) Necromancy and Astrology. (3) Logic and Philosophy, represented by Aristotle's numerous books, Plato, Socrates, Porphyry, Boethius, Macrobius, and Gilbert de la Porrée. (4) Theology (relying for support on Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Bede, and Isidore). (5) Canon and Civil Law (the Novels, Code, and Digest). (6) Medicine and Chirurgy, represented by Hippocrates, Galen and a number of physicians of Paris.

50. Héron, 144, is sure that this Pierre de Courtenai was a canon of Paris and son of Pierre de Courtenai, who was emperor of Constantinople (d. 1219).

52. In 1231 Pope Gregory IX wrote to Louis IX not to be prejudiced against a certain *magistrum Johannem Pagium*. In Bibliothèque Nat. MS lat. 15652, a master Pagus is mentioned as a commentator on the *Sentences*, who most probably is identical with the Pagus mentioned above. In the same place appear the names of many other commentators on the *Sentences*, whose works, without exception, all antedate 1250. Hauréau, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX, 564, refers to a work of Pagus entitled *Appellationes* or *Syncategoremata*, preserved in Paris, Bibl. Nat. MSS lat. 11412 and 15170, but he wrongly places the author at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 145). The above dates help to fix the date of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*.

Pages must be translated "rustic," not "page." There are no instances of the latter meaning of the word until the fourteenth century. See Du Cange, *Glossarium* under the word "pagius," and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under "page."

53. The family bearing the curious name Pointlasne (*pungens asinum*—for the probable origin of which see Jubinal *Œuvres de Rutebeuf*, III [1875], 329) was very famous in Paris during the thirteenth century. Pierre de Limoges tells of a certain Jean Poinlane who earned his living as a butcher's boy, carrying a large platter through the streets of Paris. Later, when he became a self-made captain of industry and one of the richest men in Paris, he had this old platter mounted in gold and silver, and guarded it as a relic of his previous poverty. About the middle of the thirteenth century, his son became a celebrated doctor in the University and was known as John of Paris, who became a Dominican, not to be confounded with the famous orator of the same name, called Quidort, who died in 1306. (Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au Moyen Age*, 1886, 404, 405. See also P. Feret, *La faculté de théologie de Paris au moyen âge*, II, 519–21). A *frater Johannes Pungesasinum* is mentioned as a master of theology in a document of the University of Paris dated 1248. (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 210). We hear of a

Mestre Nichole aus hautes naches.	Master Nicholas with the prominent buttocks.
Cil troi levent trive et cadruve	These three put the trivium and quadrivium
Sor .i. grant char en une cuve;	In a tub on a large cart;
Li bedel traioient le char.	The bedels drew the cart.
Robert le Nain par grant eschar	Robert the Dwarf in great derision
Les poingnoit toz d'un aguillon;	Pricked them all with a goad;
Cheron le veil point el coillon.	He pokes old Cheron in the bag.
Lors se mistrent tuit a la voie.	Then they all set out.
La ot maint paveillon de soie	There was many a pavilion of silk
Soz Mont Leheri lez Linaies;	On Montlhéry near Linas;

William Pointlasne as early as 1226 (*ibid.*, 108), but the prominent business man of the family seems to have been Peter Pointlasne who sold property to Robert de Sorbonne in 1254 (*ibid.*, 271). The same transaction is mentioned in a grant by King Louis IX in 1257, the first reference concerning the founding of the Sorbonne (*ibid.*, 349). Denifle says that this Peter is often named in the Cartulary of the Sorbonne in the years 1254 to 1260. In 1282–83 we have a mention also of a Stephen Pointlasne (*ibid.*, 598).

It is very probable that the person referred to in our poem was John of Paris. The qualifying clause, "cil de Gamaches" (Gamaches is in the arrondissement d'Abbeville, Somme), led Héron to reject such a hypothesis, but "Gamaches" may have been some street or place in Paris. Perhaps one might venture to make this emendation, "cil des gamaches" = "he of the gaiters."

54. In a document of the University of Paris, dated 1248, among the masters of canon law is mentioned a certain *magister Nicholaus de Pondearche* (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 210. A note explains "i.e. Ponte Arche.") There is some reason for suspecting that this may be our Nicholas. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, under the word Arca (10).

55. Henri d'Andeli is here guilty of a rather senseless reference to the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, almost as senseless as the unqualified statement in many modern books that the work in the arts course of medieval universities consisted of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. The *trivium* consisted of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. Now when Henri d'Andeli has made Grammar the commander-in-chief of one army, and Logic of the other, how can he speak so slightingly of the *trivium* as a mere minor part of the army of Logic? The fact is that our poet did not have a clear idea of the specialization of studies that was the natural outcome of advanced work in medieval universities as it is in our universities today (See above, pp. 13 ff). Formerly the *trivium* and *quadrivium* had covered everything included in what we call arts and sciences. By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the work in the arts course of universities had become so specialized, especially in logic and philosophy, that the old nomenclature no longer sufficed. We have experienced the same thing in our universities in regard to the so-called social sciences. Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, the words *trivium* and *quadrivium* were still used in documents pertaining to the University of Paris (see Rashdall, *Universities*, II, 737, note IX, on "The University of Paris in A.D. 1204;" and, for 1215, Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 78 (see *quadruvialia*), but in the course of that century they practically disappeared as accurate descriptive terms for work in universities, and became scarcely more than figures of speech, as they are in this line of our poem.

63. Montlhéry, situated in the Arrondissement de Corbeil (Seine et Oise), not far from Paris, near the road to Orleans, was famous for its ancient strong-castle, of which a tower is still standing. The old French name, Mont-le-heri, means "a rough and difficult ascent." At the commencement of the eleventh century the town and its dependencies fell into the hands of the

La se firent de cruels plaies.
La Loi chevaucha richement
Et Decret orguilleusement
Sor trestoutes les autres ars.
Molt i ot chevaliers Lombars,
Que Rectorique ot amenez.
Dars ont de langues enpennez
Por percier les cuers des genz nices
Qui vienent jouster a lor lices;
Quar il tolent mains heritages
Par les lances de lor langages.
Augustin, Ambroise, Grigoire,
Giroime, Bede, et Ysidoire,
Distrent a la Divinité
Qu'ele eschivast lor vanité.
Madame la Haute Science,
Qui n'avoit cure de lor tence,
Lessa les ars tençant ensanble.
A Paris s'en vint, ce me sanble,
Boivre les vins de son celier,

There they gave one another cruel blows.
Civil Law rode gorgeously
And Canon Law rode haughtily
Ahead of all the other arts.
There was many a Lombard knight,
Marshalled by Rhetoric.
Darts they have of feathered tongues
To pierce the hearts of foolish people
Who come to attack their strongholds;
For they snatch up many a heritage
With the lances of their eloquence.
Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory,
Jerome, Bede, and Isidore,
They quoted to Divinity as authorities
That she might avoid their vanity.
Madam Exalted Science,
Who did not care a fig about their dispute,
Left the arts to fight it out together.
Methinks she went to Paris
To drink the wines of her cellar,

house of Montmorency. Towards the beginning of his reign, St. Louis was obliged to take refuge near Montlhéry when his barons revolted. Tradition has it that he fled from the castle of Montlhéry, making use of a secret underground passage, the entrance of which is now closed. He was rescued by the Parisians, who brought him safely to their city (*L'Art de vérifier les dates* [1818], XII, 130–7). Perhaps this episode induced Henri d'Andeli to make this castle figure so prominently in his poem.

Linas, a small village south of Montlhéry.

68. For the Lombard knights, marshalled by Rhetoric, see Introduction, above, p. 25.

75–76. It would not be difficult to find numerous passages in the works of all these fathers of the church, in which they state that theology is so far above all secular learning that it can well afford to keep aloof from squabbles among the arts. None of those mentioned were so consistent in this attitude as was Pope Gregory the Great, who wrote: "Nam sicut hujus quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati." Migne, *Patr. lat.*, LXXV, 516B.

76. Héron, 148, justly remarks that Isidor of Seville (c. 570–636) might have been mentioned in support of grammar because his *Etymologiae* or *Origines* were much in vogue in medieval schools. A new edition has just appeared: Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1911) 2 vols. See the recent study by E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (N. Y. Longmans, 1912); and C. H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien* in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, IV, 2. Heft (München, 1913).

77. Note that our English word Divinity is still used in the sense of Theology, which has been lost in modern French.

83. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, I, 467, calls attention to the 'honest and moderate beer-drinking' that sometimes accompanied commencements in the faculty of theology.

Par le conseil au chancelier,
Ou ele avoit molt grant fiance
Quar c'ert li mieldres clers de France;
Mès d'un petit la tint a fole,
Que quant el despute en s'escole
El lesse la droite clergie
Et corne la philosophie.
Et li arcien n'ont mès cure
Lire fors livres de nature;

According to the advice of the chancellor,
In whom she had the greatest confidence
For he was the best clerk in the Isle de France;
But in one trifle he considered her foolish,
That when she holds disputations in his schools
She abandons strict theological questions
And trumpets philosophy.
As for the arts students, they care for naught
Except to read the books of nature;

84. In all probability this was Philippe de Grève who was chancellor of Paris 1218-1236. See Paul Meyer in *Romania*, I (1872), 194. Line 86 reads that "he *was* the best clerk in the Isle de France." Thus the year 1236 is usually taken as the *terminus a quo* of the composition of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*, because Philippe de Grève died in that year.

90. Lines 87–90 clearly show how even theology fell under the spell of the "New Aristotle."

91. Héron had ventured to say that "arcien" at first meant a master or student in arts, and that later it was restricted to a master or student in logic. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) took him to task for that, saying that "arcien" always signifies a member of the faculty of arts, and is never restricted to designate a master or student in logic. We wish to come to Héron's aid. In Paris, as elsewhere, the study of language and literature was relegated to a rather low plane when logic and philosophy became dominant. Hence a distinction tended to grow up between those arts students who studied grammar and those who studied logic and philosophy. So little stress was laid on grammar in Paris that some time before 1366 it practically ceased to be a university requirement for the bachelor's degree in arts. Among other things, candidates were obliged to give oath that they had read both *Priscians*, but that oath might be dispensed with; likewise that they had studied in Paris in the faculty of arts for three years, but it was understood that this signified arts *without* grammar. When the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* became the prescribed books in Paris, it was sufficient if candidates for the bachelor's degree had read them in any other university or even in any other school where grammar was taught. (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, II, 678; III, 145). See also note on line 93 below.

In Toulouse and other universities of southern France, where grammar was never quite so much neglected as in Paris, the tendency was to have a faculty of grammar, distinct from the faculty of arts or logic. Special masters in grammar in Toulouse are mentioned as early as 1229. In 1311 a clear distinction was made between a grammar student and an arts student: "et tunc unusquisque licentiandus dare tenebitur, in die licentie sue, si sit grammaticus, artista vel medicus X solidos." (Fournier, *Statuts*, I, 472 [XXVII]). The same distinction obtained in Montpellier in 1242 (*ibid.*, II, 9), and in Bologna in 1250 (Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I, 205). For a full discussion of this point see Paetow, *The Arts Course*, 55–60. In the light of these documents it is not at all strange that Henri d'Andeli conceived of a battle between Grammar and Logic, and that he called the students of logic and philosophy "arcien," a term which he would not apply to the humanists of Orleans.

It surely is very curious that, until recently, in our modern universities, the A. B. degree was given, almost without exception, only to students who had made some progress in ancient classical belles-lettres, a condition of affairs diametrically opposed to that in the universities of the thirteenth century.

92. Previous editors have taken the "books of nature" to mean the *Physics* of Aristotle. That definition is too restricted. The "New Aristotle" (see above, p. 20) which made such a

Et la gent Gramaire perverse
Ront lessié Claudïen et Perse,
.ij. molt bons livres anciens,
Les meillors aus gramairiens;
Tuit font la contralietez
De la bone ancienetež.
Fisique, Ypocras, Galien.

While the grammarians perverse
Have for their part forsaken Claudian and Persius,
Two very good old books,
The best belonging to the grammarians;
All are in opposition
To good antiquity.
Medicine, Hippocrates, Galen,

stir in Europe in the thirteenth century, included the *Metaphysics*, and a *considerable number* of books dealing with the natural sciences, such as the *Physics, Meteorics, On the Heavens and the Earth, On Generation and Destruction, On the Cause of the Motion of Animals*, and most of the group of smaller treatises usually referred to as the "Parva Naturalia." This is the meaning of the "libri naturales" mentioned in the prohibition of 1210: "Nec libri Aristotelis de naturali philosophia nec commenta legantur Parisius publice vel secreto, et hoc sub pena excommunicationis inhibemus." (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 70) and that of 1215: "Non legantur libri Aristotelis de *methafisica* et de *naturali philosophia*, nec *summe* de eisdem." (*ibid.*, 78), as well as in the famous circular letter of the new University of Toulouse in 1229: "Libros naturales, qui fuerant Parisius prohibiti, poterunt illic audire qui volunt nature sinum medullitus perscrutari," (*ibid.*, 131). The best account of the introduction of Aristotle in western Europe is that by P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII^e Siècle* (2 vols. ed. 2, Louvain, 1909, 1911) I, chs. I–II, to be supplemented by C. H. Haskins, "A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX (1909), 75–94.

From the sentence in the circular letter of the University of Toulouse just quoted, one is inclined to infer that *La Bataille des VII Ars* could not have been written before 1229. Besides, Roger Bacon believed that the "libri naturales" of Aristotle were not taught in Paris until the dispersion and return of the University of Paris, 1229–31. Neither the prohibitions of the books of Aristotle, nor the words of Bacon must be taken too seriously, but the beginning of such a universal use of these books, as is indicated by this line of our poem, very probably came between 1229 and 1255, when they were formally prescribed in the Faculty of Arts. Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 278. See also Mandonnet, *op. cit.*

93. The "grammarians" whom Henri d'Andeli scolds may have been teachers and students of grammar in Paris as well as in Orleans. See, for example, the position of John Garland, a master of grammar in Paris, at the time when the *Battle of the Seven Arts* was written. Above, p. 16.

99. We have spoken of our present meagre knowledge about medicine in the Middle Ages (above, p. 27). Little can be said about the teaching of medicine at the University of Paris. The words of Henri d'Andeli about physicians are considerably illuminated by the dissertation of F. Laue, *Über Krankenbehandlung und Heilkunde in der Litteratur des alten Frankreichs* (Arnstadt, 1904; consult his bibliography). See also H. Berthaud, *Les médecins et chirurgiens des rois capétiens du 11^e au 13^e siècle* (Poitiers, 1907), which has a promising title. Unfortunately, the book is out of print and was not accessible.

In the thirteenth century a distinction was commonly made between physicians (*fisiciens*—the French *médecins* does not come in until the fourteenth century), chirurgeons, and apothecaries. The chirurgeons were generally looked down upon by the physicians, as indeed they have been until the recent phenomenal advance in surgery. Physicians were often called "mires" in old French.

Et cil hardi cirurgien,	And those bold chirurgeons,	100
Cil de rue nuëve, Robert,	He of the Rue Neuve, Robert,	
Et cil de Glatini, Hubert,	And he of Glatigny, Hubert,	
Et mestre Pierres li Lombars	And master Peter the Lombard	
Qui Paris triche par ses ars,	Who tricks Paris with his arts,	
Et Giraut, .i. autres deables,	And Gerald, another devil,	105
Et mestre Henri de Venables,	And master Henry of Venables,	
Et Raoul de la Charité,	And Raoul of the Charité,	
Petit Pont et lor vanité,	Little Bridge and their vanity,	

The works of the Greek writers on medicine, Hippocrates (4th Cent. B.C.) and Galen (2nd Cent. A.D.) began to be widely read in western Europe, usually in Latin translations, towards the middle of the eleventh century and inaugurated some such a change in the study of medicine as the "New Aristotle" caused in logic, philosophy, and theology.

101. This probably was Robert de Douai, canon of Senlis, physician to Louis IX, or to the queen Marguerite. He was a friend of Robert of Sorbonne and in 1254 sold some property on the site of the Sorbonne (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 270–272). In the same year, Pope Innocent IV employed him to assist in allaying the quarrel between the university and the Preaching Friars (*ibid.*, I, 266). In 1258 Robert made his testament, leaving to the Sorbonne a sum of money and all his books. In this document he is called a *physicus* (*ibid.*, I, 372). He was dead in 1260 (*ibid.*, I, 411, note 1). If Henri d'Andeli had this Robert in mind, it is strange that he called such a prominent man a chirurgeon. Perhaps he did it for spite. It is noteworthy that MS B omits lines 101–2, as well as lines 111–123. Héron also calls attention to a Robert, canon of Champeaux en Brie, physician to Étienne, bishop of Paris, mentioned by Guérard, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, I, 212, in the year 1279.

The Rue Neuve [Notre Dame] was in the Cité, that is, the island in the Seine, and had been opened in the twelfth century. L. Halphen, *Paris sous les premiers capétiens (987–1223)* (Paris, 1909) 97.

102. The Rue de Glatigny was also a street in the Cité. Halphen, *op. cit.*, 87. Héron, 150, says "seemingly of evil repute."

103. A Peter Lombard was physician to King Louis IX; afterward he became canon and sub-deacon of Chartres. Héron, 150, and Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 345.

106. Venables is a village in the department of Eure, not far from Andelys, in Normandy. In the *Regestrum Visitationum* of Eude Rigaud is mentioned a *Henri*, physician to the archbishop, who may have been well known to Henri d'Andeli. Héron, 151.

107. *La Charité* may have been a hospital, for hospitals were by no means unknown in Paris in the thirteenth century. The *Hôpital de la Charité Chrétienne* was founded by Margaret of Provence, widow of Louis IX, but that was after the date of *The Battle of the Seven Arts*.

108. In the early days of the University of Paris, all instruction was given in and about the cathedral school on the island of the Seine, the Cité. The great increase of masters and students led some masters to establish themselves on the Petit Pont (Little Bridge), lined on both sides with houses, which joined the island with the left bank of the Seine. Subsequently this left bank received the overflow and became the Latin Quarter. Many masters of the twelfth and thirteenth century were named after the bridge on which they taught. Thus we have an Adam of the Little Bridge, a John, Gilbert, William, Peter, and Gautier. The Little Bridge became very famous in scholastic song and story. Guido de Bazoches (1175–90) said that "*Pons* autem

Trestuit tornaissent au gaaing
S'il i veïssent nul mehaing.
Cirurgie, la vilenastre,
Se seoit lez .i. sanglent astre,
Qui molt amoit miex les descordes
Qu'el ne fist les gentiz concordes.
Boistes portoit et oingnemenz,
Et granz plentez de ferremenz
Por sachier les quarriaus des pances.

Molt avoit tost retaconnez
Les ventres qu'el vit baconnez:
S'est cele science del mains.
Mès ele a si hardies mains
Qu'ele n'espargne nule gent
Dont ele puist avoir argent.
Je les tenisse por molt preus
S'il m'eüssent gari des iex;
Mès il cunchient mainte gent.
Que des deniers et de l'argent
Qu'il reçoivent de lor poisons
Font il a Paris granz mesons.

They all would turn to money making
If they saw in it no danger.
Villainous Chirurgy
Was seated near a bloody cemetery.
She loved discord much better
Than bringing about nice concord.
She carried boxes and ointments,
And a great plenty of instruments
To draw arrows from paunches.

It did not take her long to patch up
The bellies she saw pierced:
However, she is a science.
But she has such bold hands
That she spares no one
From whom she may be able to get money.
I would have had much respect for them
If they had cured my eyes;
But they dupe many people,
While with the copper and silver
Which they receive for their poisons
They build them fine houses in Paris.

Parvus aut pretereuntibus, aut spatiantibus, aut disputantibus logicis didicatus est" (Denifle et Chatelain *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 56). An interesting reference to the bridge and its fame is found in *Raoul de Cambrai; Chanson de geste*, publ. par P. Meyer et A. Longnon (*Soc. des anc. textes français*, 44, Paris, 1882), lines 5482–88:

"Crïent le fu, ci fu lues alumez,
Et en Paris par les rues boutez
Jusq'au palais dont vos oï avez;
Dès le Grant Pont ou avalent les nez
Jusqu'au Petit qui tant est renommez
N'i a le jor de toz avoirs remez
Dont .j. vilains poïst estre encombrez."

The reference to the Little Bridge in *The Battle of the Seven Arts* is very enigmatical. The masters of the Petit Pont were usually renowned for logic, but here Henri d'Andeli is speaking of physicians. Perhaps the thought is that even logicians would turn to making money if they could find ways and means.

125. Henri d'Andeli must have been a jolly old trouvère, for he attributes his bad eyes to his partiality for the fine wine of Saint-Jean d'Angély. He says in *La Bataille des Vins* (lines 123–126), Héron, 27:

"Li vins S. Jehan d'Angeli
Si dist a Henri d'Andeli
Ou'il li avoit crevé les ex
Par sa force, tant estoit prex."

129. The universal suspicion with which physicians were regarded in medieval France is well illustrated by numerous quotations, in Laue, *Die Krankenbehandlung und Heilkunde in der Litteratur des alten Frankreichs*, 95–133.

De Toulete vint et de Naples,
Qui des batailles sot les chaples,
A mienuit la Nigremance,
Qui lor dist bien lor mesestance:
Que chascuns ait la teste armée,
Qu'ele avoit gardé en l'espée.
En .i. quarrefor fist .i. feu,
Lez .i. cerne, entre chien et leu.
La ot .ij. chas sacrefiez
Et .ij. coulombiaus forviez
Par la malisne deité
Por encerchier la verité.
La fille dame Astrenomie,
Qui de lor maus lor fu amie,
Lor dist molt bien que la bataille
Ert lendemain sanz nule faille.
Arismetique sist en l'ombre,
Ou ele dit, ou ele nombre,
Que .x. et .ij. et .i. font .xiij. ,
Et puis .iij. après ce font .xvi. ;
.iiij. et .iij. et puis .ix. arriere
Refont .xvi. en la lor maniere:
.xiij. et .xxvij. font .xl. ,
Et .ij^{xx}. par eus font .lx. ;
.v^{xx}. font .c. et .x^{c}. mil.
Monte plus li contes? Nenil.
L'en puet bien conter .m. milliers
Par le conte qui est premiers
Du nombre qui monte et descent,
Qui en contant vient d'un a .c. .
De la fist la dame son conte,

From Toledo came and from Naples,
She who knew the carnage of battles,
At midnight, Necromancy,
Who clearly told them their evil destiny:
That everyone should arm his head,
Which destiny she had divined in the sword.
At a cross-road she made a fire,
Near a circle, at twilight.
There she had sacrificed two cats
And two stray pigeons
In the name of the malign deity
To search out the truth.
The daughter of Madam Astronomy,
Who was an accomplice in their evil deeds,
Told them very well that the battle
Would occur tomorrow without fail.
Arithmetic sat in the shade,
Where she says, where she figures,
That ten and two and one make thirteen,
And three more make sixteen;
Four and three and nine to boot
Again make sixteen in their way;
Thirteen and twenty-seven make forty, [sixty;
And three times twenty by themselves make
Five twenties make hundred, and ten hundreds
a thousand.
Does counting involve anything further? No.
One can easily count a thousand thousands
In the foregoing manner
From the number which increases and diminishes,
And which in counting goes from one to hundred.
The dame makes from this her tale,

130. The reputation of Toledo as the home of the occult sciences is well illustrated in the quotation from Helinand printed above, p. 17. The state of our fragmentary knowledge about medieval scholarship in Toledo and Spain at large may be learned from C. H. Haskins, "The translations of Hugo Sanctelliensis," *The Romanic Review*, II (1911), 1–15; and "Adelard of Bath," *English Historical Review*, July, 1911, 491–498. (*Reviewed* in *Bibl. de l'Ec. de Chartes*, LXXIII, 103–105). For Naples, and southern Italy and Sicily generally, see C. H. Haskins, "The Sicilian translators of the twelfth century and the first Latin version of Ptolemy's Almagest," and "Further notes on Sicilian translators of the twelfth century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI (1910), 75–102, XXIII (1913), 155–166; also H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII (1912), 473–540.

142. The daughter of Madam Astronomy was Astrology.

153. The vulgar counted *trois-vingts* according to the vigesimal system, in opposition to the learned latin *soixante;* likewise *cinq-vingts* for *cent*. Henri d'Andeli ridicules the arithmetic of the schools.

Que userier et prince et conte
Aiment miex hui la conterrese
Que la chançon de la grant messe.
Arismetique si monta
Sor son cheval et si conta
Trestoz les chevaliers de l'ost;
Et ele avoit a son acost
Sa compaigne Giometrie
Qui la refesoit sa mestrie.
Entre irois en une place
Fist .i. compas de brieve espace,
Et si dist qu'en .M. piez de terre
Seroit finée cele guerre.
Ma dame Musique aus clochetes
Et si clerc plain de chançonnetes
Portoient gigues et vieles,
Salterions et fleüteles;
De la note du premier fa
Montoient dusqu'en cc sol fa.
Li douz ton diatesaron,
Diapente, diapason,
Sont hurtez de diverses gerbes.
Par quarreüres et par trebles.
Par mi l'ost aloient chantant,
Par lor chant les vont enchantant.
Celes ne se combatent pas;
Mès Donaet isnel le pas
Ala tel cop ferir Platon
D'un vers berseret el menton
Qu'il le fist trestout esbahir;
Et dant Platon par grant aïr
Le referi si d'un sofisme
Sor l'escu, parmi une rime,
Qu'il le fist trebuchier el fanc
Et le couvri trestout de sanc.
Aristote fiert Precïen
Nostre haut preudomme ancïen
Qu'il le fist a terre voler;
Du cheval le volt defouler,
Mès Precïens ot .ij. neveus
Qui molt estoient biaus et preus.
Dant Agrecime et Doctrinal;

That usurer, prince, and count
Today love the countercss better
Than the chanting of high mass.
Arithmetic then mounted
Her horse and proceeded to count
All the knights of the army;
And she had at her side
Her companion Geometry
Who there again showed her skill.
In a spot between the combatants
She described a small circle,
And said that within thousand feet of ground
This war would be brought to a close.
Madam Music, she of the little bells
And her clerks full of songs
Carried fiddles and viols,
Psalteries and small flutes;
From the sound of the first *fa*
They ascended to *cc sol fa*.
The sweet tones diatessaron
Diapente, diapason,
Are struck in various combinations.
In groups of four and three,
Through the army they went singing,
They go enchanting them with their song.
These do not engage in battle;
But Donatus without delay
Dealt Plato such a blow
On the chin with a feathered verse
That he frightened him thoroughly;
And Sir Plato in great wrath
Struck back at him so hard with a sophism
Upon his shield, in the midst of a rhyme,
That he made him tumble in the mud
And completely covered him with blood.
Aristotle strikes Priscian
Our noble ancient authority
That he made him drop to the ground:
He wanted to trample him under his horse.
But Priscian had two nephews
Who were very handsome and brave.
Sir Graccismus and the Doctrinale;

174. Héron, 154 ff., gives references to some standard works on musical instruments in the Middle Ages. See also *La musique au siècle de St. Louis*, par H Lavoix fils. (*Recueil de motets français*, II), 409 ff.

202. Until the twelfth century the grammars of Donatus and Priscian were the standard text books in the schools of medieval Europe. In that century an attempt was made to improve the

	Li escloperent son cheval,	They crippled him his horse,
	De son cheval firent trepié.	And rendered the animal three-legged.
205	Aristote, qui fu a pié,	Aristotle, who was unhorsed, 205
	Si fist cheoir Gramaire enverse.	Made Grammar tumble backwards.
	Lors i a point mesire Perse,	Then pricked forward master Persius,
	Dant Juvenal et dant Orace,	Sir Juvenal and Sir Horace,
	Virgile, Lucan, et Estace,	Virgil, Lucan, and Statius,
210	Et Sedule, Propre, Prudence,	And Sedulius, Propertius, Prudentius, 210
	Arator, Omer, et Terence:	Arator, Homer, and Terence:
	Tuit chaplerent sor Aristote,	All smote Aristotle,
	Qui fu fers com chastel sor mote.	Who stood firm as a castle on a hill.
	Preciens o ses .ij. neveus	Priscian with his two nephews
215	Li voloient crever les iex,	Tried to beat out his eyes, 215
	Quant Elenche et les .ij. Logiques,	When Sophistical Refutations and the two Logics,

teaching of Latin grammar, especially syntax. This produced such a marked change that thenceforward we may with justice distinguish between the "old" and the "new grammar." New grammars were written in versified form, the most famous of which were the *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune.

Alexander of Villedieu had been a student in Paris, and in 1199 wrote his *Doctrinale*, which comprises 2645 leonine hexameters. The work grew to be very popular and later became the butt of the scorn of the humanists. See D. Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei*, Berlin, 1893, (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, XII*).

The *Graecismus* appeared in 1212. Like the *Doctrinale*, it was written in hexameter verse. Its peculiar name was derived from the chapter which treats of Greek etymologies. Although Eberhard himself did not know Greek, he thus helped to elucidate Greek words and constructions which had crept into medieval Latin through the Vulgate and the writings of the church fathers. See Wrobel, Eberhardi Bethuniensis *Graecismus*, Vratislaviae, 1887 (*Corpus grammaticorum medii aevi*, I).

For the history of the *Doctrinale* and *Graecismus* in medieval universities, see Paetow, *The Arts Course*, Chapter II.

210. Sedulius (5th Cent., A.D., *Carmen paschale*), Prosper of Aquitaine (5th Cent., *Carmen de ingratis*), Prudentius (348—c. 410, *Peri stephanon*), and Arator (6th Cent., *Epos de actibus apostolorum*) were all Christian poets very popular in the schools of the Middle Ages. On Arator in medieval schools, see *Romania*, XXXIX (1910). 84; and *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), 249.

211. For "Omer" see note on line 9, above.

216. The two *Logics* here seem to be the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, although the reference may be to the so-called "Old" and "New Logic," terms which became very current in the thirteenth century after the principal logical works of Aristotle, which were not known to Abelard e.g., had been revealed to western scholarship towards the middle of the twelfth century. (See Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, I (1911), 9 ff.). The "New Logic" included the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations*. The "Old Logic" always comprised the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, the *Categories* and *On Interpretation*. With these were sometimes included the *Divisions* and *Topics* of Boethius and even the *Six Principles* of Gilbert de la Porrée (Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 228, 278).

For a typical time-table of lectures in the arts course of medieval universities, including many of the books mentioned in this poem, see Paetow, *The Arts Course*, 96.

Parealmaines et Topiques,
Et livre de nature, Etique,
Dame Nigromance, Fisique,
Et dant Boëce et dant Macrobe
Vestu d'une chetive robe,
Et Porfire vindrent le cors
Por fere Aristote secors.
Li Lombart dame Rectorique
Poinstrent après Dialetique,
Ja soit ce que pas ne l'amoient,
Quar de petit la connoissoient;
Mès maint preudomme i mehaignierent
Por l'avoir qu'il i gaaingnierent.
Predicamenz et Sex Principes,
Dui bon achateor de tripes,
Poinstrent après dant Barbarime

On Interpretation and the Topics,
The books of nature, Ethics,
Madam Necromancy, Medicine,
And Sir Boethius and Sir Macrobius
Dressed in a caitiff garb,
And Porphyry, came on a run
To bring aid to Aristotle.
The Lombards of dame Rhetoric
Rode hard after Dialectic,
Although they did not love her.
For they were but little acquainted with her;
But they wounded many an honest man
For the booty which they won there.
The Categories and the Six Principles,
Two good buyers of tripe,
Pricked after Sir Barbarismus

217. Aristotle's works on logic—the *Organon*—comprise the *Categories*, *On Interpretation* (or *Periarmenias*), *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Refutations* (*De sophisticis elenchi*).

218. On the books of nature of Aristotle see note above on line 92.

Ethics here probably refers to the *Nichomachean Ethics* of Aristotle in ten books.

220. The poet probably was not referring to the famous *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius (d. 524), but to his *Divisions* and *Topics*, which were sometimes included in the "Old Logic." See note on line 216 above.

Macrobius (c. 400 A.D.) is placed in the army of Logic on account of his commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*. His *Saturnalia* might have given him a place in the army of Grammar.

222. Porphyry of Tyre (233—c. 304 A.D.) was the most prominent pupil of Plotinus. His *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle and was used extensively in the schools of the Middle Ages as a portal into the works of the Stagirite.

224. For Rhetoric and the Lombards see above, pp. 24 ff. Aristotle and dialectic generally were by no means so popular in the universities of Italy as in Paris. Besides, the poet intimates that these practical money-mad disciples of the *ars dictaminis* would waste no more time on dialectic than on classical poetry. This explains lines 226–7.

230. The *Six Principles* are the *Liber sex principiorum* of Gilbert de la Porrée (Porretanus), born in Poitiers in 1070, where he died as bishop of that city in 1154. For more than twelve years he taught in the schools of Chartres. His *Six Principles* were designed to supplement the *Categories* of Aristotle, which are incomplete.

232. *Barbarismus* was the medieval name for the third part of the *ars grammatica*, or larger treatise of Donatus (see above, note on line 26). The name was derived from the first word of the third part which begins "Barbarismus est una pars orationis vitiosa in communi sermone." It is a short treatment (covering ten printed pages in Keil, *Grammatici latini*, IV, 392–402) on barbarisms, solecisms, and figures of speech. The twelfth chapter of the *Doctrinale*, on figures, covers the same ground (Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, 157–178). In documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *Barbarismus* is ordinarily grouped with grammatical books (see e.g. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, 1909, p. 92; Denifle et Chatelain, *Chart. Univ. Paris*,

Qui chevauchoit soi cinquantime.
S'ert il homme lige Gramaire
Des meillors genz de son aumaire;
Mès il maintenoit cele guerre
Qu'el païs Logique avoit terre.
Par trahison estoit tornez
Por ce qu'il ert de Poitou nez.
Icele pesme gent amere
Poinstrent sor Gramaire lor mere.
Qui la veïst lances lancier
Por ces bons autors espancier,
Hochier testes et batre mains,
Et aus langues laschier les frains!
.M. quarriaus voloient ensanble
Peors que de sauz ne de tranble,
Qu'il a plus venin en paroles
Qu'en .c. M. maçues foles.
Et li autor se deffendoient
Qui de granz plaies lor fesoient,
De caniveçons et de greffes,
De longues fables et de beffes.
Lor chastiaus fust bien deffensables
S'il ne fust si garnis de fables;
Qu'il enjoignent lor vanitez
Par lor biaus mos en veritez.
Gramaire lor fiert .i. desciple
Parmi le cors d'un participle
Qui le fist a la terre estendre,
Puis li dist: "Or alez aprendre."
Puis en fist .v. cheoir sor l'erbe
Par la pointe de son averbe;
Mès dant Sortes la fist repondre.
Qu'el ne pot pas a toz respondre.
Vers ceus d'Orliens s'est adrecie,
Qui l'ont longuement essaucie.
En la profondece d'un val

Who rode the fiftieth of the troop.
He was liege man of Grammar
One of the best men of her book case;
But he favored this war
Because he held land from Logic.
By treason he was alienated
Because he was a native of Poitou.
These bad, spiteful people
Attacked Grammar, their mother.
Ah! if you had seen them there throwing lances
To disembowel these good authors,
Shaking heads and beating hands,
And loosening the reins on tongues!
A thousand arrows flew at one time,
Worse than those made of willow or aspen,
For there is more venom in words
Than in a hundred thousand silly sticks.
The authors defended themselves
And struck them great wounds,
With penknives and styluses,
Long fables and lies.
Their castle would have been defensible enough
If it had not been so stocked with fables;
For they palm off their nonsense
As truth, by means of fine phrases.
Grammar strikes one of their disciples
In the body with a participle
Which felled him to the ground.
Then to him said: "Now go and learn something."
Then she stretched five more of them on the sod
At the point of her adverb;
But Sir Socrates made her hide,
For she could not answer all his questions.
She turned towards those of Orleans,
Who for a long time have exalted her.
From the depths of a valley

I, 78. 228), but it was probably prized by the logicians because it contained valuable rules for conducting disputations, and hence Henri d'Andeli placed it in the army of Logic as a traitor to Grammar.

239. For this slur on the Poitivins, see Héron, 161. Dr. Jean Beck has also called our attention to *La bataille d'Enfer et de Paradis*, ll. 111 ff.

257. For this sly reference to objectionable fables, see above, p. 28.

264. Although Socrates left no writings, he was often alluded to in the Middle Ages. The name usually appears in Latin in the forms Sortes, Sortis, or merely Sor., which has confused many editors of medieval documents. Thurot, *Doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge, Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXII, part 2, 106. 254.

Li alaschierent son cheval
Qui soustenoit Ortografie,
Le fondement de la clergie;
Puis fist arriere ses retors
Dame Gramaire a ses autors.
Qui veïst logicïenians
Comme il tuoient autoriaus
Et fere ces destructïons
Sor ces gentilz constructïons!
Li sofistre les despisoient
Por ce que pas ne s'entendoient;
Que tant i ot de contredit
Que pou set l'un que l'autre dit.
.j. chevalier, Parealmaine,
Tua mon seignor Architraine,
.j. des barons de Normendie;
Emprès ce si tua Tobie.
.iiij. en tua en .i. randon.
Et *Gesta ducis Macedum*
Et la Bible versefiée
Ra il d'un grant mail esmïée.
Mès quant vint aus Patrenomiques
Onques la mesnie Topiques,

They brought forth her horse
Which was being held by Orthography,
The foundation of learning;
Then back with her authors
Dame Grammar retreated.
Ah! if you had seen the logicians
How they slew the authorlings
And caused such havoc
Among those fine constructions!
The sophists despised them
Because they did not understand each other;
For there was so much contention among them
That the one knew little of what the other said.
One knight, On Interpretation,
Killed my lord Architrenius,
One of the barons of Normandy;
After that he also slew Tobit.
Four of them he killed in one onset.
Both the *Gesta ducis Macedum*
And the versified Bible
He then cut to pieces with a huge battle-ax.
But when against the Patronymics
Advanced the family of the Topics,

283. The *Architrenius* (The Arch-weeper) is a lugubrious Latin poem of some merit by the Norman John de Hauteville, who spent much time in England and flourished near the end of the twelfth century. The poem is edited by T. Wright in *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century* (Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1872), I, 240–392.

285. The *Tobias* (ed. Müldener, 1855) of Matthew of Vendôme (d. c. 1200) is a Latin epic poem relating the history of the two biblical Tobits, father and son, and their wives, with many digressions and frequent prayers put into the mouths of the characters. In the fourteenth century, the *Tobias* was prescribed in the University of Perpignan (Fournier, *Statuts*, II, 678).

287. The *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille or de Châtillon (written 1176–1179; ed. Müldener, *Gualterus ab Insulis Alex.* 1863), begins, "Gesta ducis Macedum totum digesta per orbem." (See Héron, 165, who first explained this line of our poem). This is a remarkable Latin epic poem of 5464 hexameters recounting the deeds of Alexander the Great. In most respects the poem is superior to the productions of the time. The style is good, the rules of prosody and metric are generally observed, and the author reveals his acquaintance with Virgil, Lucan, Statius, and Claudian. It abounds in allegory, with a queer mingling of Christian and pagan elements, but there is likewise much good imagery. Many manuscripts of the poem have come down to us. For its popularity in medieval schools see above, p. 29. See also H. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Chatillon*, Halle, 1905.

288. The *Aurora*, or versified Bible, is a vast poem of more than 15,000 elegiac verses, paraphrasing portions of the Bible, written by Peter Riga, a canon of Rheims, who died in 1209. Only small fragments of it have been published. The poem was very popular in the Middle Ages. See Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, xix.

291. By "family of the Topics," Henri d'Andeli probably wished to group the *Topics* of Aristotle, Cicero, and Boethius, all of which were read in medieval universities.

Nes porent percier par effors,
Tant sont Patrenomiques fors.
Dant *Juste* et *Preterea*
Si tuerent *propter ea*
Le bon *Ego mei vel mis*,
Qui estoit trop lor anemis,
Qu'il ne sorent dont il venoit
Ne comment il se declinoit.
Quant Logique ot fet sa proesce,
Si s'en revint a grant leesce
A l'estandart, a sa baniere;
Lor se trestrent li ost arriere.
Astrenomie et Rectorique
Distrent a la Dyaletique,
Ainçois que il fust aseri
Entraissent en Mont Leheri.
Les dames, qui molt sages erent,
Dedenz Mont Leheri entrerent,
Et nel firent pas por cremor,
Ainz le firent tout por l'amor
Qu'els voudrent le chastel avoir;
Et de ce firent els savoir
Qu'els aiment les choses hautaines,
Et Gramaire aime les fontaines.
Li autor furent molt troublé
Qu'ensanble se sont assanblé,
Que l'arriere ban atendoient,
Que dui chevalier amenoient,
Le Primat d'Orliens et Ovide.

They failed to force their way through,
So strong are the Patronymics.
Sirs *Juste* and *Praeterea*
For this reason killed
The good *Ego mei vel mis*,
Who was their great enemy,
Because they did not know whence he came
Nor how he was declined.
When Logic had shown her prowess,
She returned with great joy
To her standard, to her banner;
Then the army withdrew.
Astronomy and Rhetoric
Advised Dialectic,
That, before night-fall,
They had better enter Montlhéry.
The dames, who were very wise,
Entered Montlhéry,
And they did it not from fear,
But rather simply from the desire
To possess the castle;
And by this they made it known
That they love lofty things,
Whereas Grammar loves the fountains.
The authors were much troubled
When they assembled,
So they awaited the rear guard,
Which two knights were bringing up,
Primat of Orleans and Ovid.

294. Our poet here personifies certain common expressions which constantly recurred in the schools.

320. Primat of Orleans was a teacher and poet of Orleans about the middle of the twelfth century. His real name was Hugo, and he was nicknamed "the Primat" (probably a title of distinction which meant "the chief"). This Primat was noted for his facility in improvising witty verses and also for the freedom with which he revealed contemporary manners and vices, especially those of the clergy. His fame spread rapidly; it had extended beyond the Alps before the end of the twelfth century, and in the fourteenth he was immortalized in the tale Boccaccio told about Primasso in his *Decameron*, I, 7.

Primat of Orleans must be kept distinct from a certain Primat of Cologne mentioned by Salimbene and Gerald de Barri as the author of a famous poem entitled *Confessio Goliae episcopi*, and who wrote other similar breezy verses early in the thirteenth century (not to be identified with Walter Mapes). He is called Golias by Gerald de Barri, a name which became famous because it came to designate the eponymous hero of the Goliardi, a sort of guild of wandering students. This opens up the whole vexed question of the *Carmina Burana* and similar poems, and the real nature of this Bishop Golias, to whom so many poems and songs of the Middle Ages are attributed. It will be interesting to see what light M. Manitius will throw on the matter when

Ramenoient en lor aïde
·x · M· vers de grant randon
Embrievez en lor gonfanon,
Qu'Ovide tessi de ses mains
En l'essil ou il fu du mains:
Marcial Coq. et Marcien,
Seneque et Anticlaudien
Et dant Bernardins li sauvages,
Qui connoissoit toz les langages
Des esciences et des ars;
Cil ne venoit pas comme gars,
Ainz amenoit issi grant route

They brought to their aid,
With great impetuosity, ten thousand verses,
Inscribed on their banner,
Which Ovid wove with his hands
In the exile where he was in want:
Martial and Martianus Capella,
Seneca and Anticlaudian
And Sir Bernard Silvester,
Who knew all the languages
Of the sciences and the arts;
He did not come as a mere squire,
But he brought so large a band

the second volume of his *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* will appear in Müller's *Handbuch*. Manitius, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, München, 1913 (*Münchener Texte*, Heft 6), was not accessible. Meanwhile we can but refer the reader to the scholarly articles by L. Delisle, "Le Poète Primat," *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, XXXI (1870), 303–311; by Hauréau in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXIX, Part 2 (1880), 253–272, and by Ch.-V. Langlois, "La littérature goliardique," *Revue bleue*, L (1892), 807–813; LI (1893), 174–180. See also the reflections of Gaston Paris in a review of A. Gabrielli, *Su la poesia dei goliardi*, in *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes*, L (1889), 258–260; and J. A. Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song* (1884). Appendix (which includes a bibliography). For another bibliography of the subject see A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, II (1902), 210–213. See also B. Schmeidler, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, Leipzig, 1912.

325. It is well known that Ovid passed the last years of his life (8–17 A.D.) in exile at Tomi, on the Black Sea, in Moesia, the modern Kustindje, whither he had been banished by Augustus on account of his objectionable poetry and because of some scandal in the family of Augustus.

326. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) suggested that the manuscript readings *Marciacop* and *Maaracop* are corruptions of *Martial Coq.* and thus refer to the great epigrammatist Martial (c. 40—c. 102–104 A.D.) who was known throughout the Middle Ages by the cognomen *Coquus* (the cook). On this cognomen see Schneidewin's edition of 1842, 21, 638; and Friedländer, *Martial. Epigr.*, I., 3, 322, note.

Martianus Capella lived in the fourth century A.D. and came from Carthage to Rome. Before 330 he wrote a treatise entitled *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, a strange allegorical encyclopedia, treating of the seven liberal arts, which was very popular in the schools of the Middle Ages.

327. The *Anti-Claudianus* is a famous poem by Alain de Lille (c. 1128–1202). He seems to have spent some time in Paris and died a Cistercian monk in the abbey of Citeaux. The poem was inspired by Claudian's *In Rufinum*. It has been edited by T. Wright, *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* (Rolls Series), II (1872), 268–428. See also Alain's interesting book entitled *De planctu naturae* (*ibid.*, 429–522), which has been translated into English by D. M. Moffat, *The Complaint of Nature by Alain de Lille*, N. Y., 1908 (*Yale Studies in English*, XXXVI).

328. Bernard Silvester of Tours was an important humanistic Latin poet, who flourished 1145–53. He is not identical with Bernard of Chartres. For his works and for a bibliography on the confusion of names, see J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, I (ed. 2, 1906), 534.

Que la terre en couvri trestoute.
Estacez Achilleidos,
Qui avoit fort pis et fort dos,
Menoit par devant soi les hez.
La fu li sages Chatonez,
Avionès et Panfilès;
La portoit dant Theaudelès
Une baniere mi partie;
Toissu i fu par grant mestrie

That the whole place was full of them.
The Achilleis of Statius,
Strong in chest and back,
Bore before him the stakes.
There was the wise Cato,
Avianus and Pamphilus;
Sir Theodulus carried there
A banner bipartite;
In it was woven with great skill

334. Statius, the author of the *Thebaid* and *Achilleis* (second half of the first century A.D.) was mentioned above in line 209 along with Virgil and Lucan. Héron, 172, thinks that Henri d'Andeli believed that there were two famous poets with the name Statius, one the author of the *Thebaid*, the other, of the *Achilleis*. The source of this confusion would be the fact that P. Papinius Statius was often identified with Statius Ursulus of Toulouse, a famous rhetorician in southern Gaul about the middle of the first century A.D. (mentioned by Jerome *Eus. chron.* ad a. 2073 = 57 A.D.: "Statius Ursulus Tolosensis celeberrime in Gallia rhetoricam docet.")

336. The word *hez* or *ez* is somewhat troublesome. We have followed Héron, who believed they were pointed stakes which foot-soldiers planted before them when fighting in the open field. Augustin, 41, does not agree with Héron, but thinks they were a kind of shield.

337. The *Catonis Disticha* is a small collection of maxims and proverbs, probably written late in the third or in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. There is no proof that the name of the author was Cato. Probably that name is merely a reflection of the *Carmen de moribus* of Cato the Elder. These *Distichs* were often attributed to the latter in the Middle Ages when they were extremely popular as a reading-book in the schools. They were often rewritten and translated, for example, the *Chatonet* of Jehan du Chastelet or du Paris, c. 1260. See E. Stechert, *De Catonis quae dicuntur distichis*, Greifswald, 1912.

On the use of *Cato* and other primary reading-books in the schools of the Middle Ages see above, p. 35, n. 7, and E. Voigt, "Das erste Lesebuch des Triviums in dem Kloster- und Stiftsschulen des Mittelalters," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehung und Schulgeschichte*, I (Berlin, 1891), 42–53. Also see M. Boas, "De librorum cantoniarum historia atque compositione," *Mnemosyne*, XLII (1914), 17–46.

338. Avianus was the author of a collection of forty-two Aesopean fables in elegiac metre, composed probably between 365 and 379 A.D. (R. Ellis, in his edition of *Avianus*, Oxford, 1887). See also W. A. Oldfather, "New material for the study of Avianus," *Transactions of the Amer. Philological Association*, XLII (1912), 105–121.

Pamphilus de arte amandi is a twelfth century love elegy, inspired by Ovid, which was widespread during the Middle Ages. See Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, pt. 1, p. 427.

339. Theodulus, who is probably identical with the German Gottschalk of Orbais (Godescalc), wrote his famous *Ecloga* in the ninth century A.D. The poem represents a contest between Alithia and Pseustis. The latter champions the gods and deeds of the pagan past, whereas Alithia checkmates each effusion of her rival with some biblical story. Fronesis, who had been asked to judge, finally awards the victory to Alithia. Line 34 of the poem, "Perge prior, Pseusti, quia masculus," is responsible for the masculine gender of Pseustis. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (1911), 568–574, and the very careful study by G. L. Hamilton, "Theodulus: a mediaeval text-book," *Modern Philology*, VII (1910), 169–185.

Dant Sextis percié son escu
Que Alicia ot vaincu,
Qui painte estoit de l'autre part.
La baniere comme liepart
Sivoient tuit cil tupinel;
Si legier sont et si isnel
Par .i. pou que il ne voloient,
Par .i. pou que il ne prenoient
Parmi les piez dame Logique,
Astrenomie et Rectorique.
Mès els sont si haut herbergies
Qu'els les fierent de lor corgies
Et des langues l'air et le vent.
Lor clers en encressent sovent,
Qu'eles en sont trestoutes quasses.
Les dames ont les langues lasses;
Logique fiert tant en sa main
Qu'ele a mis sa cotele au pain.
Coutel nous fet sanz alemele,
Qui porte manche sanz cotele.
De ses braz nous fet aparance,
Sor le cors n'a point de substance.
Rectorique li vait aidant,
Qui a les deniers en plaidant.
Autentique, Qode, Digeste,
Li fet les chaudiaus por sa teste;
Quar ele a tant d'avocatiaus,
Qui de lor langues font batiaus
Por avoir l'avoir aus vilains,
Que toz li païs en est plains.
Uns des garçons dame Logique
Fu envoiez a Gramatique;
Lettres portoit por la pès fere.
Mès de ce ne me puis pas tere,
Que quant il vint a la meson
Qu'il n'entendi pas la reson
Des presenz ne des preteriz;
La ou il ot esté norriz,
Que poi i avoit demoré.
N'avoit pas bien assavoré

Sir Pseustis with pierced shield
Vanquished by Alithia,
Who was pictured on the other half.
Like leopards, this whole crowd
Followed the banner;
So nimble they are and so quick
They almost flew,
They almost captured
Among the stakes, dame Logic,
Astronomy, and Rhetoric.
But they are lodged so high up
That they strike them with their whips
And with their tongues the air and the wind.
They often fatten their scholars on it,
Whence they themselves are altogether weak.
The dames have tiresome tongues;
Logic strikes in her hand so much
That she has torn her gown into shreds.
She makes us a knife without a blade,
Who wears a sleeve without the gown.
We see from the looks of her arms,
That on her body she has no substance.
Rhetoric goes to her aid,
She who earns money by pleading.
The Novels, Code, and Digest,
Make her hot potions for her head:
For she has so many quack lawyers,
Who of their tongues make clappers
To get the goods of the common herd,
That all the country is full of them.
One of the pupils of dame Logic
Was sent to Grammar;
He bore letters to make peace.
Now I simply cannot refrain from telling this,
That when he arrived at his destination
He did not know the sense
Of the presents nor the preterits;
And that there where he had been brought up,
He had dwelt on them but little.
He had not learned thoroughly

366. The Novels, Code, and Digest are parts of the *Corpus juris civilis* compiled at the command of the Emperor Justinian. The novels were often called The Authentics, which was a common name for the Latin translation from the Greek of the Novels, made by an anonymous author *(Authenticum, Novellarum versio vulgata)*. This name was given it as an unabridged translation of the Novels, to distinguish it from the epitome made by Julian.

Lines 366–367 seem to contain some obscure reference to the fact that *dictatores* and notaries had a smattering of civil law. See above, p. 25.

	Conjugacions anormales,	Irregular conjugations,
	Qui a decliner sont molt males,	Which are most difficult to inflect,
	Averbes et pars d'oroisons,	Adverbs and parts of speech,
385	Articles et declinoisons,	Articles and declensions, 385
	Et genres et nominatis,	Genders and nominatives,
	Et supins et imperatis,	Supines and imperatives,
	Cases, figures, formoisons,	Cases, figures, formations,
	Singulers, plurers, .M. resons;	Singulars, plurals, a thousand terms;
390	Qu'en la cort Gramaire a plus d'angles	For in the court of Grammar are more corners 390
	Qu'il n'a en Logique de jangles.	Than in all of Logic's prattlings.
	Li gars n'en sot venir a chief;	The boy did not know how to come to the point;
	Si s'en revint a grant meschief.	And came back in shame.
	Mès Logique le conforta,	But Logic comforted him,
395	En sa haute tor l'en porta,	Carried him to her high tower, 395
	Si le voloit fere voler	And tried to make him fly
	Ainçois que il peüst aler.	Before he was able to walk.
	Astrenomie, qui haut vole,	Astronomy, who soars high,
	N'a mès ne recet ne escole.	Has retained neither retreat nor school.
400	Ne en païs, ne en contrée;	Neither in the city nor in the country; 400
	Ele fust ja toute esgarée,	In truth, she would have been entirely lost,
	Ne fust mestre Gautiers li preus,	Had it not been for brave master Gautier,
	Qui de petit en fet ses preus,	Who out of little makes his living, [Little Bridge.
	L'Englois qui lut sor Petit Pont,	The Englishman who holds disputations on the
405	Qui por povreté se repont.	Who hides himself for poverty. 405

402. It is rather strange that Henri d'Andeli should have made so much ado about this Gautier, the last of the astronomers in Paris, according to the text. Henri surely had no particular love for Astronomy, for in line 435 he ends the battle by making her throw lightning on the tents of Grammar. There seems to be some confusion in the text. A glance at the facsimiles appended will show that lines 398–411 are missing in manuscript B, and Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) has called attention to the fact that these lines seem to be misplaced in the other manuscript. In all probability several lines have been lost. We believe that Gautier has nothing to do with Astronomy. He is an Englishman who held disputations on the Little Bridge. We know that this bridge was renowned for its schools of logic, not astronomy (see above, note on line 108). It is hard to see how the "warfare of the schools" (militare in scholis), which is so neatly suggested by the expression " *lut* sor Petit Pont," could be carried on over astronomy. In our opinion, Gautier was not an astronomer but a master of arts in Paris who was partial to the poets of Orleans, a man like John Garland. (See above, p. 16). Now it is interesting that this same John Garland singles out a certain Galterus (in the Bruges MS a gloss adds—"Anglicus magister") for high praise as a humanist, in his *Morale scholarium*, which was written between 1238 and 1244 (Bruges MS 546, fol. 7 r°; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 385, p. 312; Bodleian, MS Rawl. G 96, p. 167). Under the date 1246, Salimbene (*Chronica*, in *M. G. SS.* XXXII, 551) speaks of a friend of John of Parma, an Englishman named Gaulterus, whom he describes as verily angelical (Anglicus natione et homo vere angelicus). Consult L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, I, 472, for the Walter the Englishman famous in fable literature. Perhaps these unsatisfactory notices will help others to cast more light on this Walter the Englishman.

	Et Gramaire si ert alée	Grammar withdrew
	En Egypte ou ele fu née.	Into Egypt, where she was born.
	Mès Logique est ores en cors.	But Logic is now in vogue.
	Chascuns garçons i cort le cors	Every boy runs her course
410	Ainçois qu'il ait passé .xv. anz;	Ere he has passed his fifteenth year; 410
	La Logique est ore aus enfanz!	Logic is now for children!
	Logique est de molt mal ator	Logic is in a very bad situation
	Sor Mont Leheri en la tor;	In the tower on Montlhéry;
	La demaine ele sa mestrie;	There she practices her art;
415	Mès Gramaire la contralie	But Grammar opposes her 415
	De ses autors et d'autorez	With her authors and authorlings
	Sentencieus et legerez.	Sententious and frivolous.
	Eqo si respont en la tor	Echo answered in the tower
	Des granz cops que l'en fiert entor,	To the great blows given all around,
420	Quar toutes i gietent lor rimes.	For there they all hurl their rhymes. 420
	Ele se desfent de sofimes:	She defends herself with sophisms;
	Sovent les fet cheoir envers	Often she makes them fall back
	Et il li relancent lor vers.	And they in turn hurl at her their verses,
	Si que toz li airs en est nubles.	So that the air is thick with them.
425	Ele se desfent d'issolubles.	She defends herself with unsolvable questions, 425
	De soluces et de fallaces.	With true and with false solutions.
	Li autorel font teus rabaces	The authorlings put in a great rage
	Qui ilueques sont assamblé	All those assembled there
	Quant il auront tant voleté,	And so eager to get away, [siege 430
430	Que ja d'iluec ne partiront	Because, in truth, they will never raise the
	Desi au jor que il charront;	Until the day that they surrender;
	Et s'eles chiéent en lor mains,	And if they [the besieged] fall into their hands,
	Il les menront du plus au mains.	They will drive them from better to worse.
	Por noient i font lor atentes,	All for naught they make their siege,
435	Quar Astrenomie a lor tentes,	For Astronomy upon their tents, 435
	Qui desor els geta la foudre;	From above, hurled her lightning;
	Toz les paveillons mist en poudre;	All their pavilions she reduced to ashes;
	Et li autorel s'en fuirent,	And the authorlings fled,
	Qui la Gramaire deguerpirent.	And deserted Grammar.
440	Versefieres li cortois	The courtly Sir Versifier 440

406–7. Héron, 177, found an interesting passage in Martianus Capella, illustrating this tradition concerning the origin of Grammar, notwithstanding which Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XI, 142) suggested that "Geometry" be substituted for "Grammar" in line 406 because it was such a hoary tradition that Geometry was born in Egypt. This emendation does not appeal to us. There doubtlessly is much confusion in the manuscript at this point, but Grammar and Logic, and not Geometry, any more than Astronomy, seem to be the subjects under discussion.

440. "Versefieres" seems to be the personification of poetry, perhaps Henri d'Andeli had Primat or Golias in mind (see note on line 320 above). Héron, 178, believes, and with much reason, that our poet was thinking of the poetic contests held between students of Orleans and Blois, concerning which we have some evidence in an anecdote told about Primat, telling how he disguised himself as a laborer and went out to the place where the students of Orleans and Blois were holding a contest, in which a student of one town would begin a verse which a student of the

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S'enfui entre Orliens et Blois.
Il n'ose mès aler par France,
Qu'il n'i a nule connoissance;
Quar arcien et discretistre
N'ont mès que fere de lor gistre.

Li Breton et li Alemant
Font encore .i. poi son commant;
Mès se li Lombart le tenoient,
Icil le par estrangleroient.
Seignor, li siecles vait par vaines;
Emprès forment vendront avaines.
Dusqu'a .xxx. anz si se tendront
Tant que noveles genz vendront,
Qui recorront a la Gramaire,
Ausi comme l'en soloit faire
Quant fu nez Henri d'Andeli,
Qui nous tesmoingne de par li
C'on doit le cointe clerc destruire
Qui ne set sa leçon construire;
Quar en toute science est gars
Mestres qui n'entent bien ses pars.

Explicit la Bataille des .vii. Ars.

Fled away between Orleans and Blois. [France,
Henceforth he does not dare to go abroad in
Since he has no acquaintance there;
For students of arts and of canon law
No longer care for their [i.e., the vanquished] jurisdiction.
The Bretons and the Germans
Still do his bidding to some extent;
But if the Lombards got hold of him,
They (in a trice) would strangle him.
Sirs, the times are given to emptiness;
Soon they will go entirely to naught,
For thirty years this will continue,
Until a new generation will arise,
Who will go back to Grammar,
Just as it was the fashion
When Henri d'Andeli was born.
Who gives it us as his opinion
That one should destroy the glib student
Who cannot construe his lesson; [tice
For in every science that master is an appren-
Who has not mastered his parts of speech.

Here ends The Battle of the Seven Arts.

other was obliged to fill out impromptu. Naturally Primat distinguished himself beyond measure. This anecdote was written by a dominican in the reign of St. Louis. See Delisle, "Les écoles d' Orléans," *Annuaire Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. de France* (1869), 147.

442. Strictly speaking, "France" should be translated "Isle de France."

446. "Breton" can scarcely be translated "Englishmen" because Henri d'Andeli wrote "L'Englois" in line 404.

When he referred to Germans, he was probably thinking of Erfurt where there was a humanistic tendency in his day something like that at Orleans. Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I (1885), 404, 408, 758, note 19, 761.

448. It is noteworthy that Henri d'Andeli sees no hope for the ancient classics in Italy, from whence come the hated Lombards and no humanists (see above, p. 25). He looks rather to Germany and Brittany. Compare this with our remarks concerning Italy as the cradle of the "revival of learning." Above, p. 14.

452. Henri d'Andeli was a little too sanguine. Petrarch did not appear until about three generations had passed since the penning of the *Battle of the Seven Arts*.

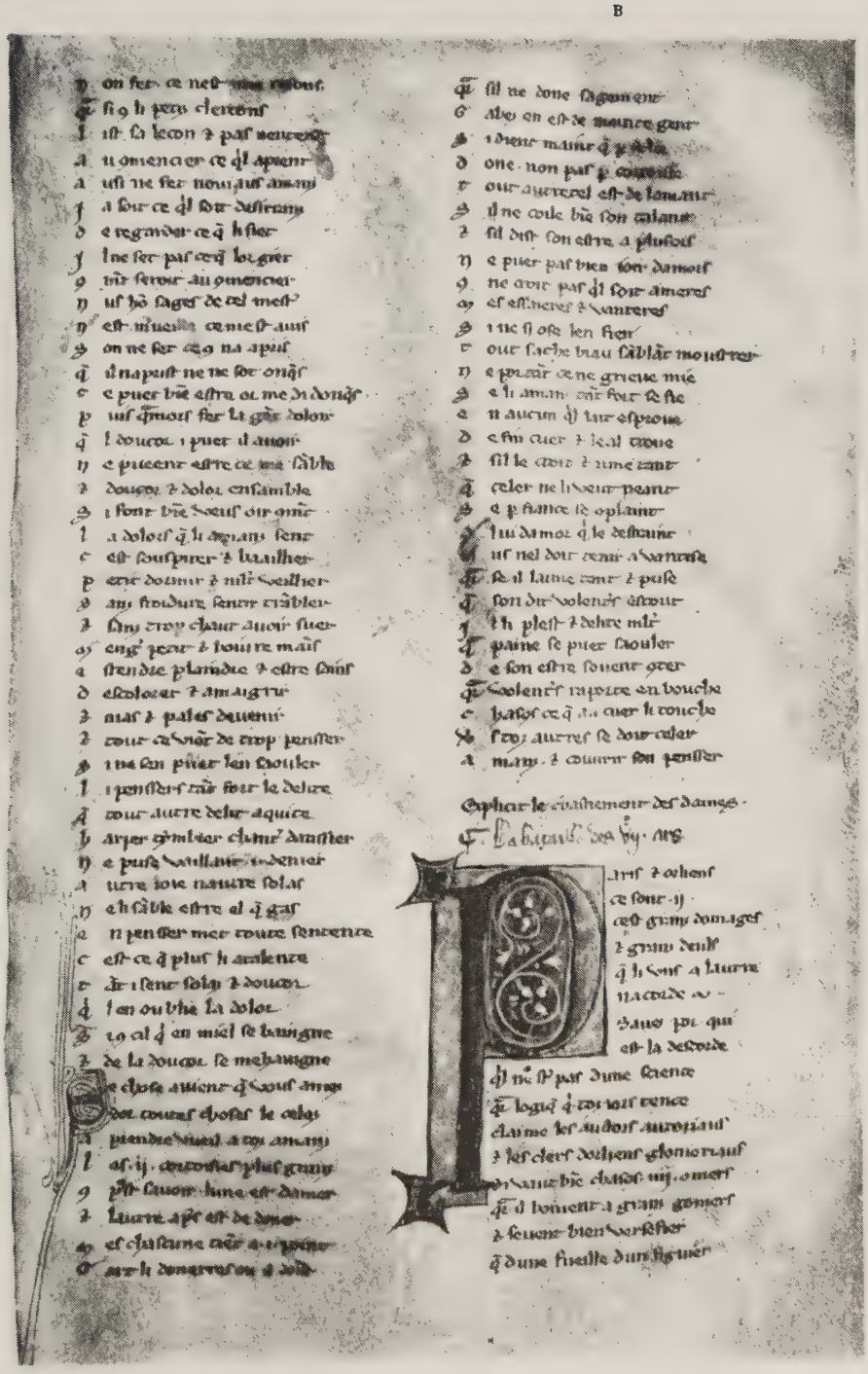
III. PLATES

FACSIMILES OF THE TWO EXTANT MANUSCRIPTS OF *LA BATAILLE DES .VII. ARS*

PLATES

Plates I–VI. MS A. [illegible]

Plates VII–X. MS B. Bibliotheque Nationale MS fr. 19152 fol. 112r to fol. 119r



La Bataille des vii Ars.

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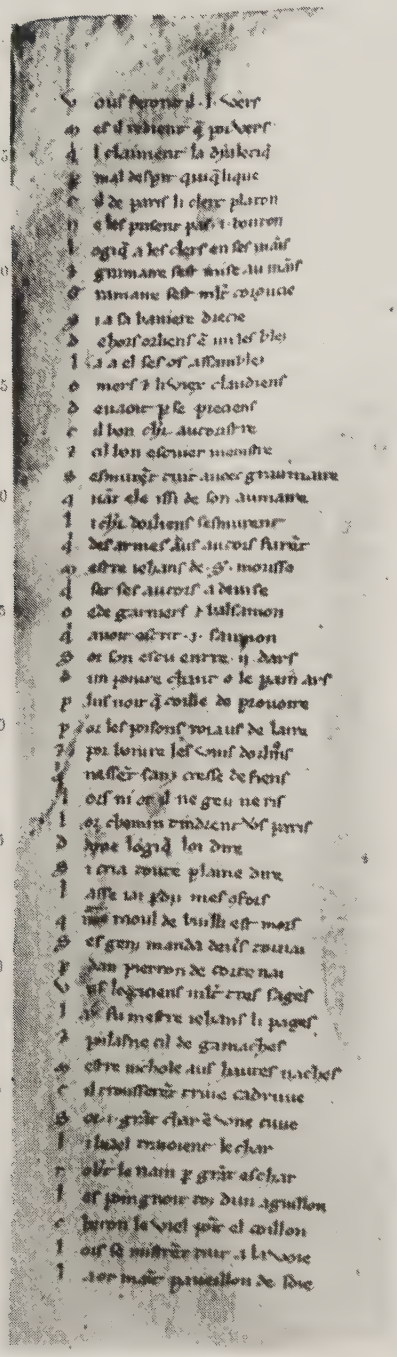
COCKAYNE, BOSTON

C



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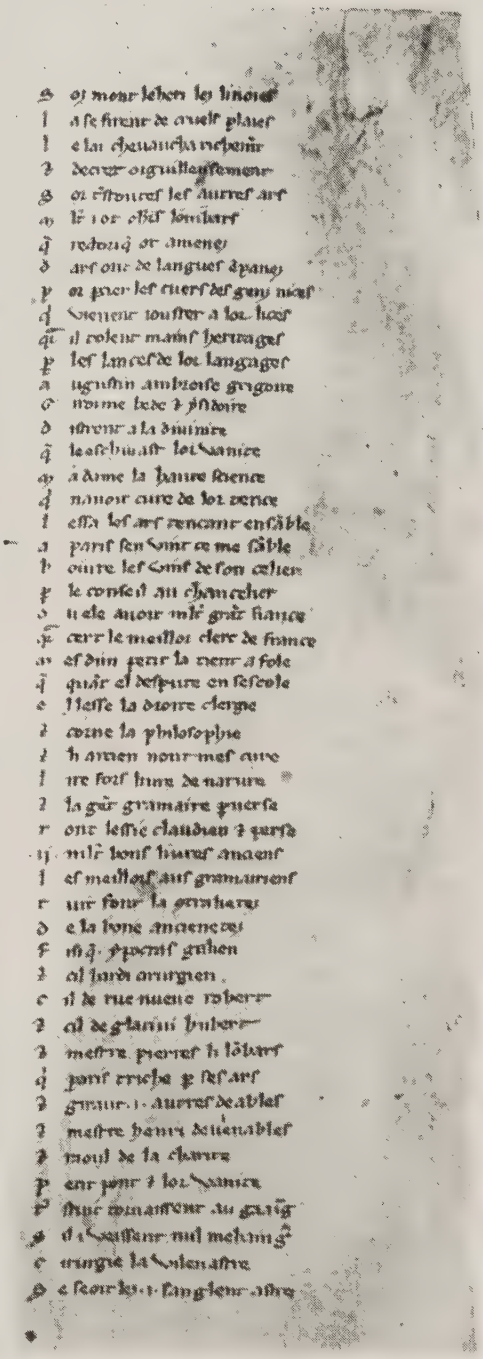

Col. D

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C-D

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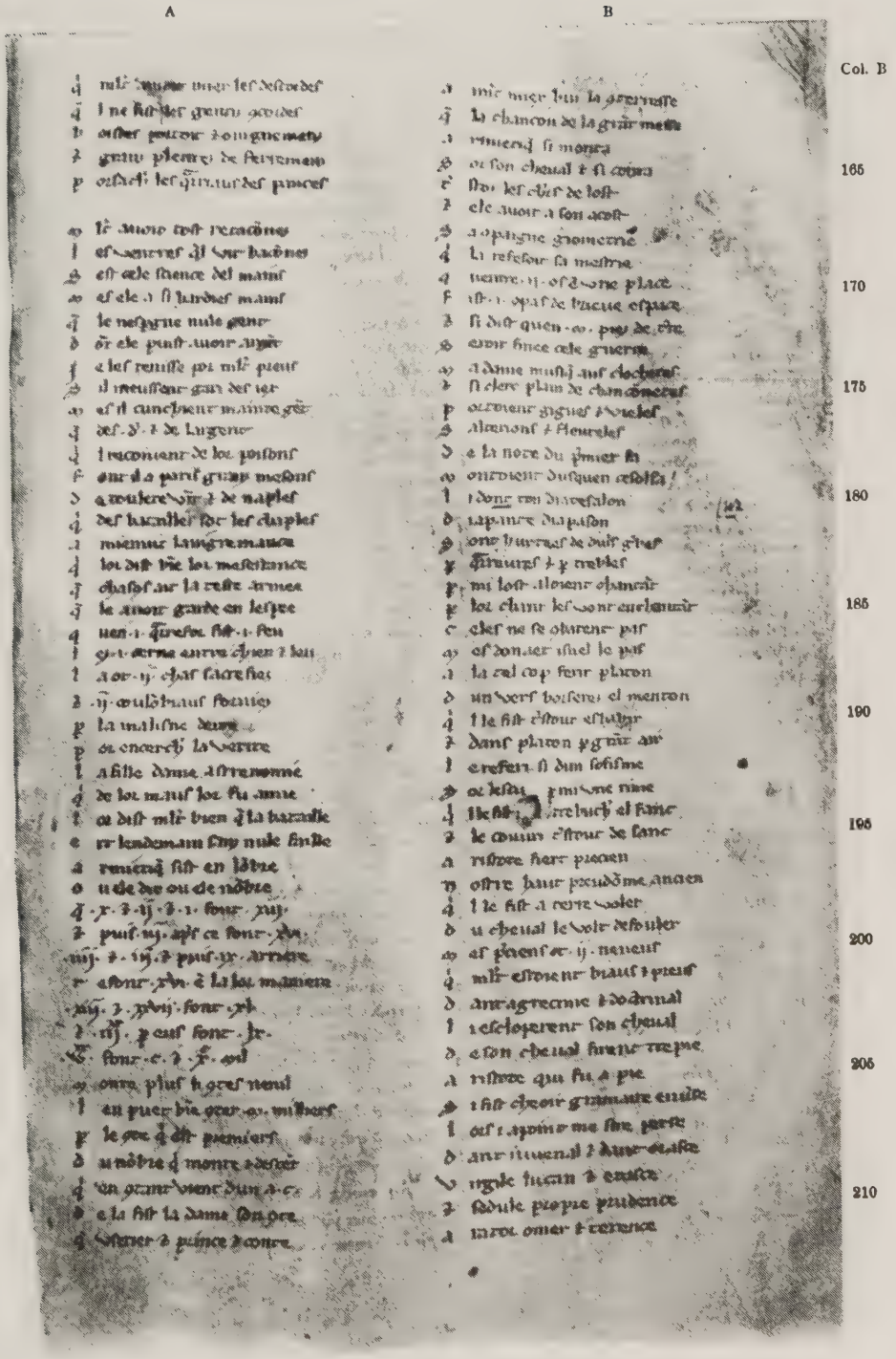

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A-B

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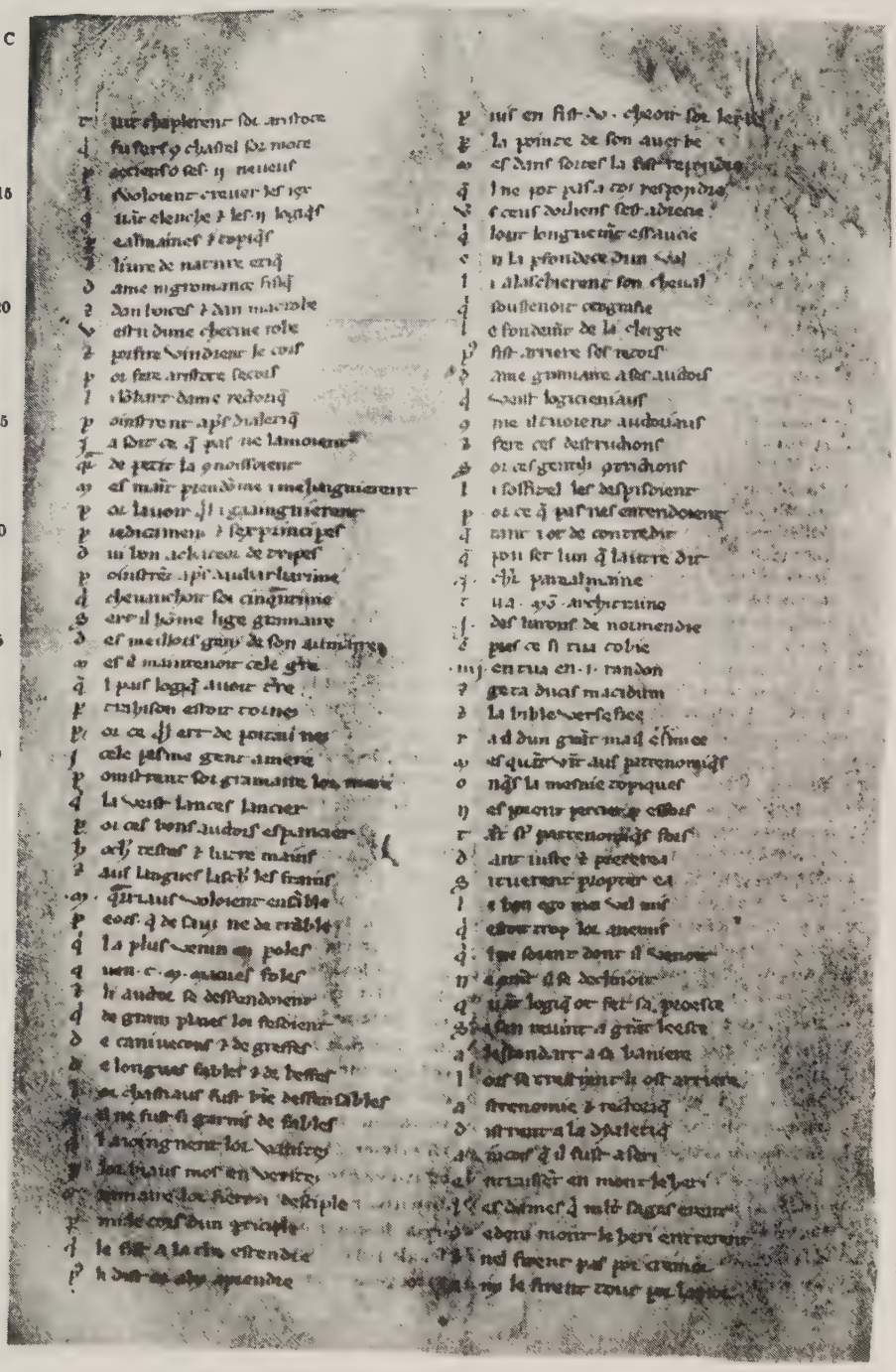

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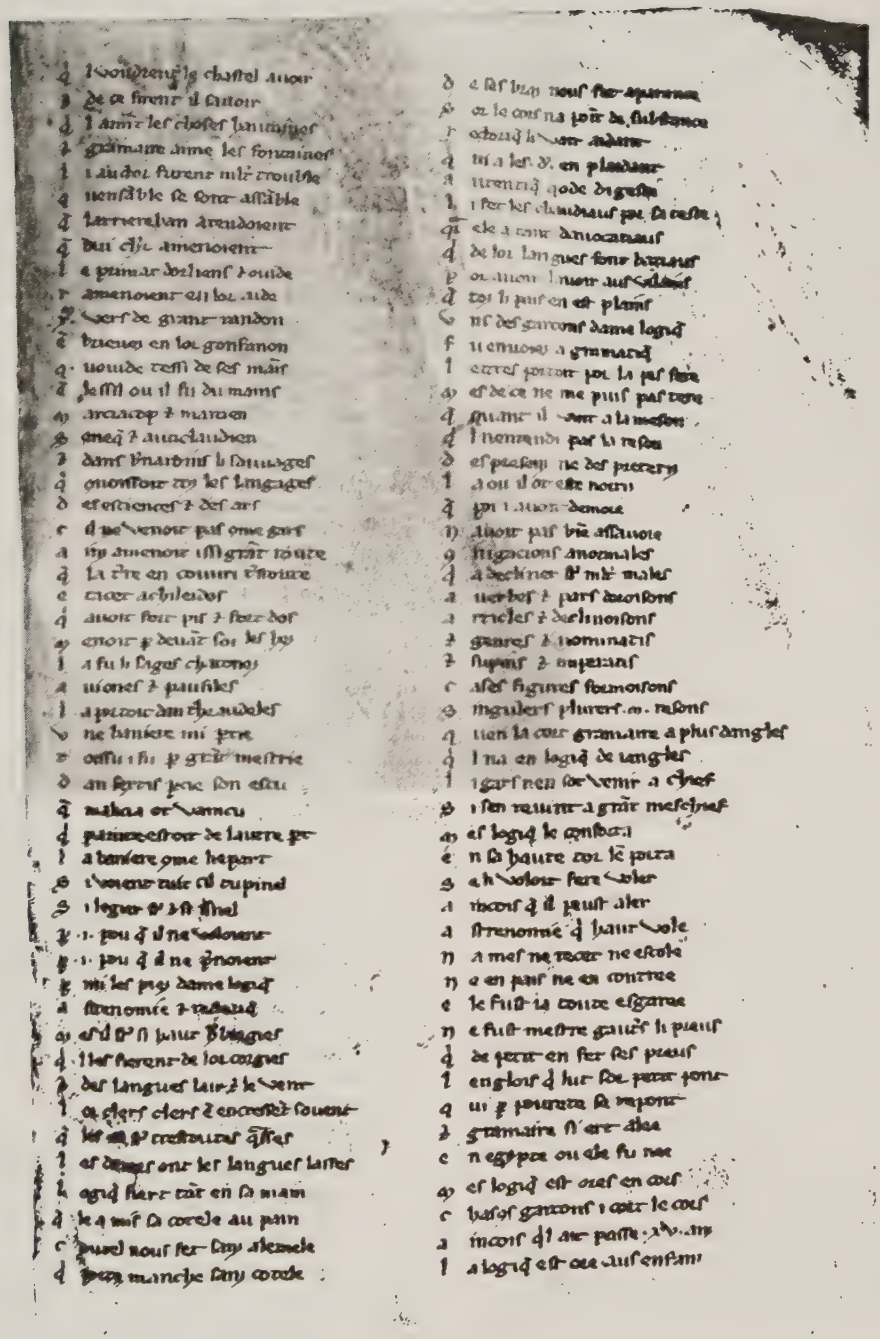

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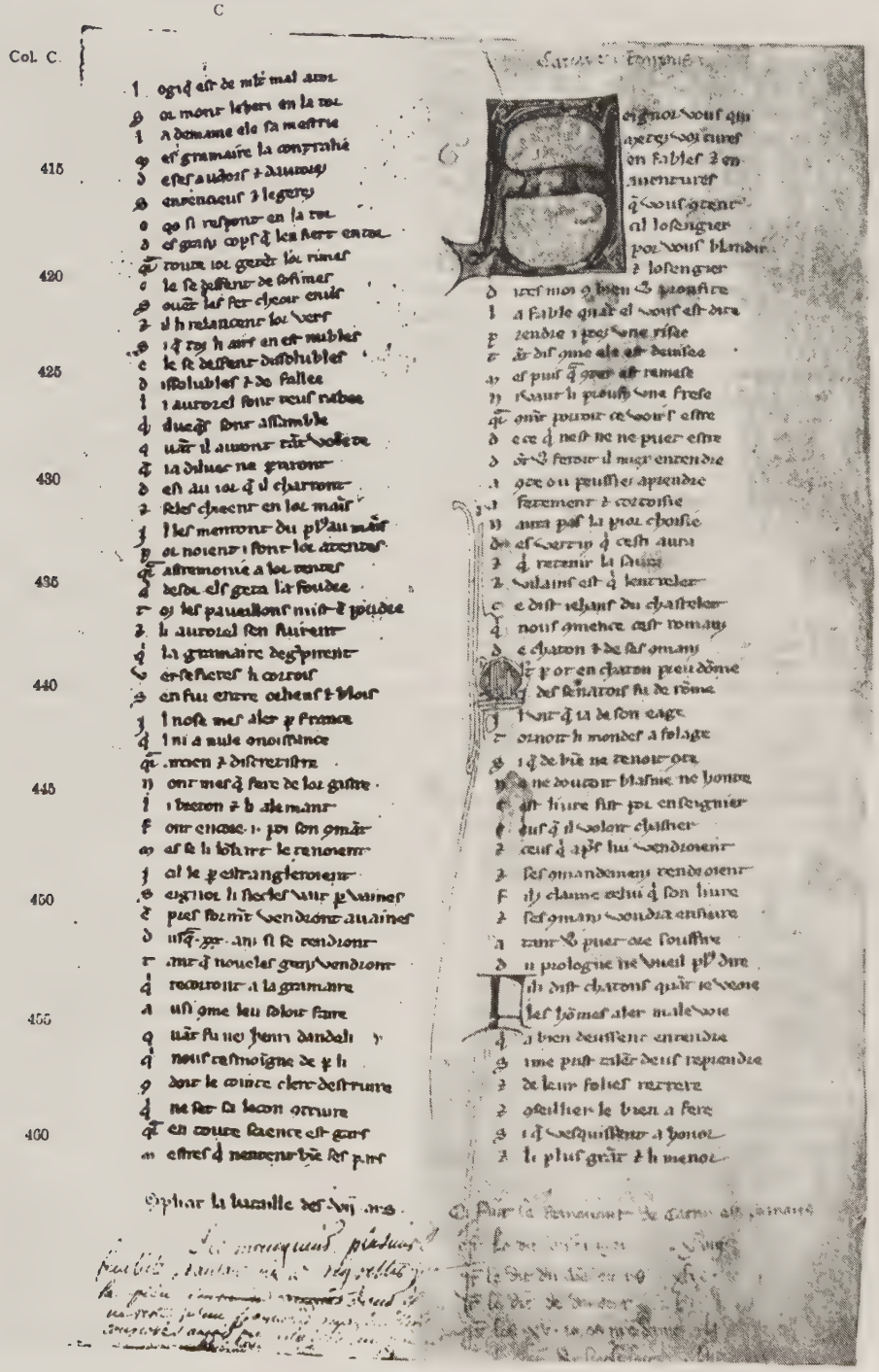

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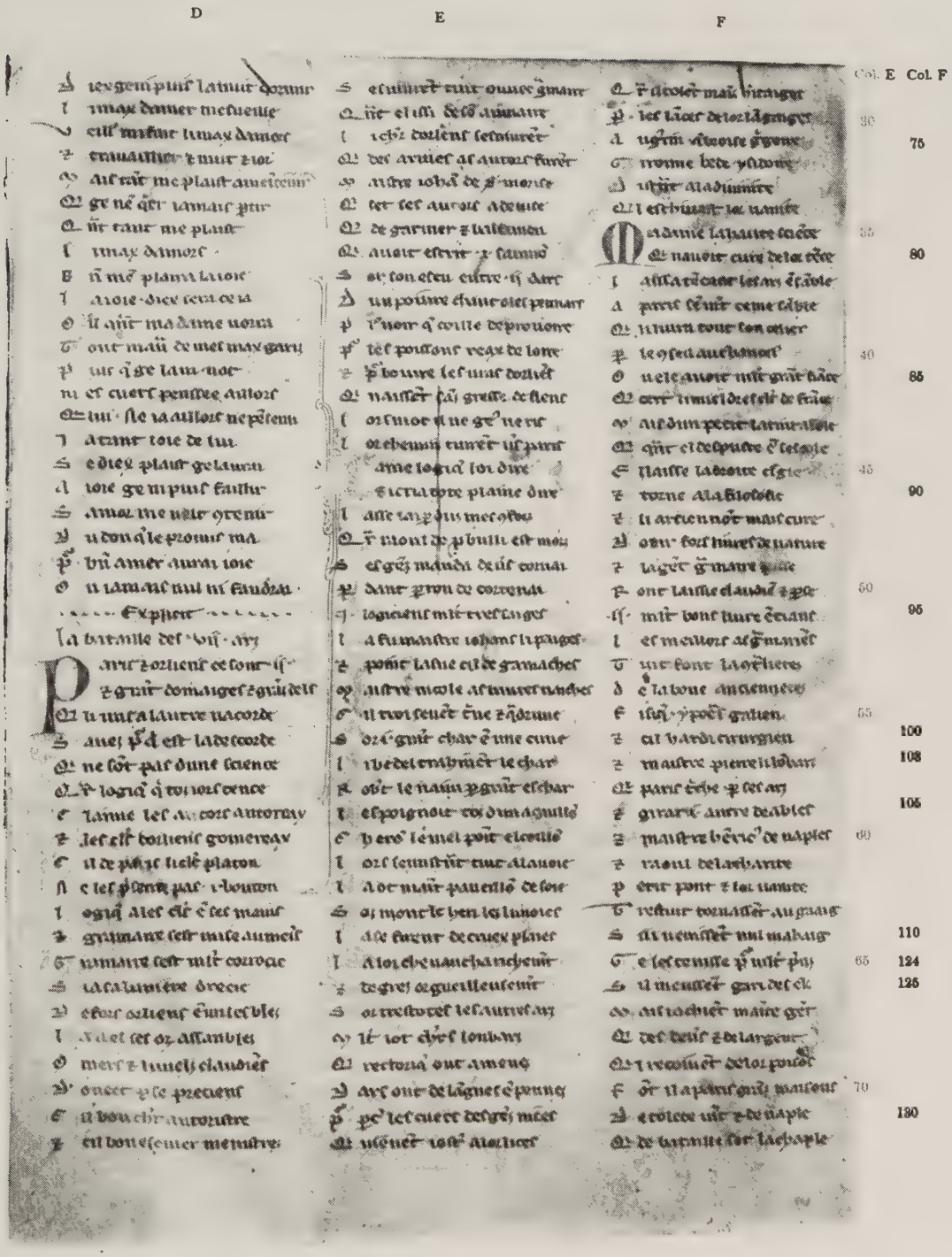

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D-F

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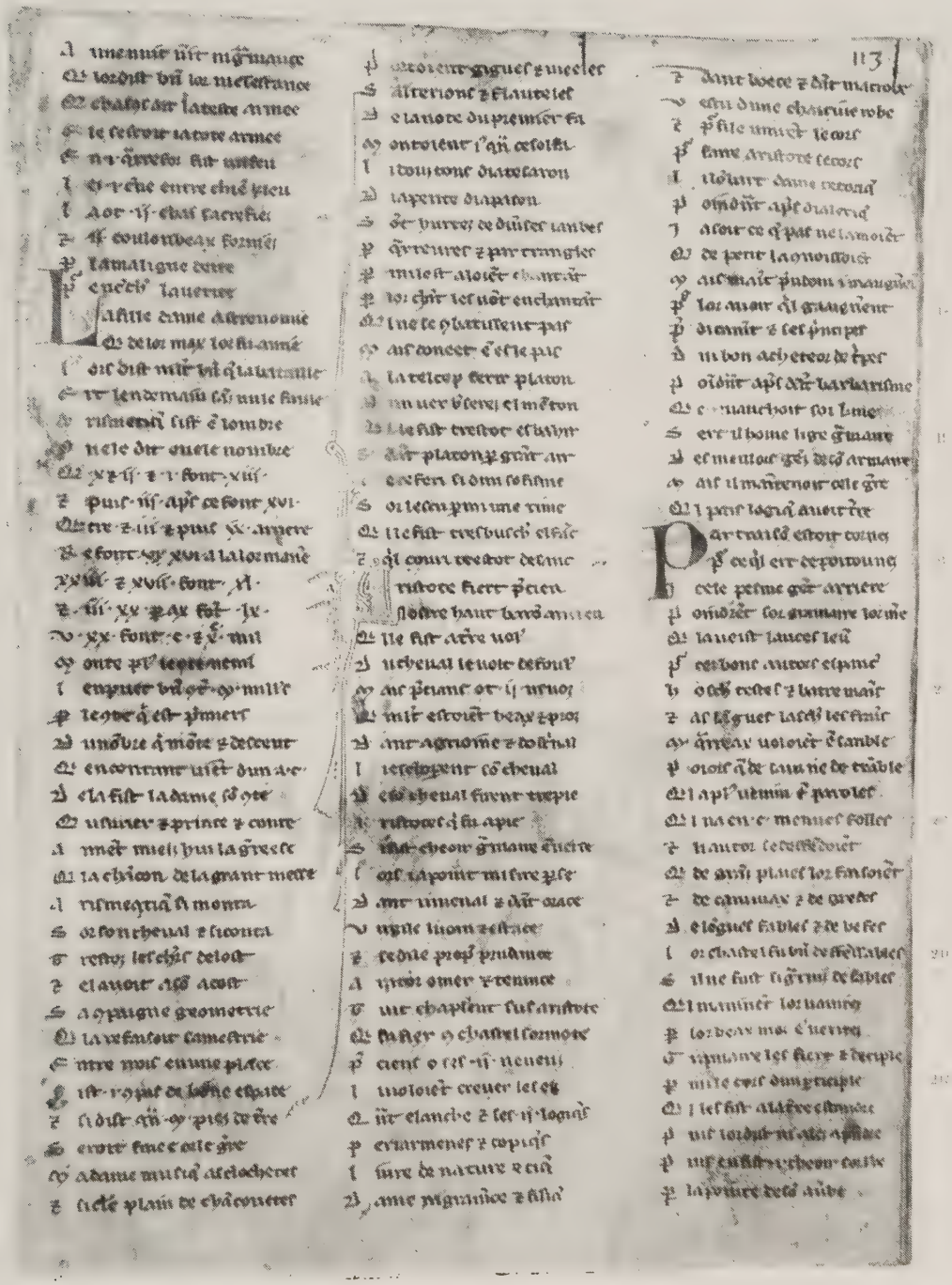

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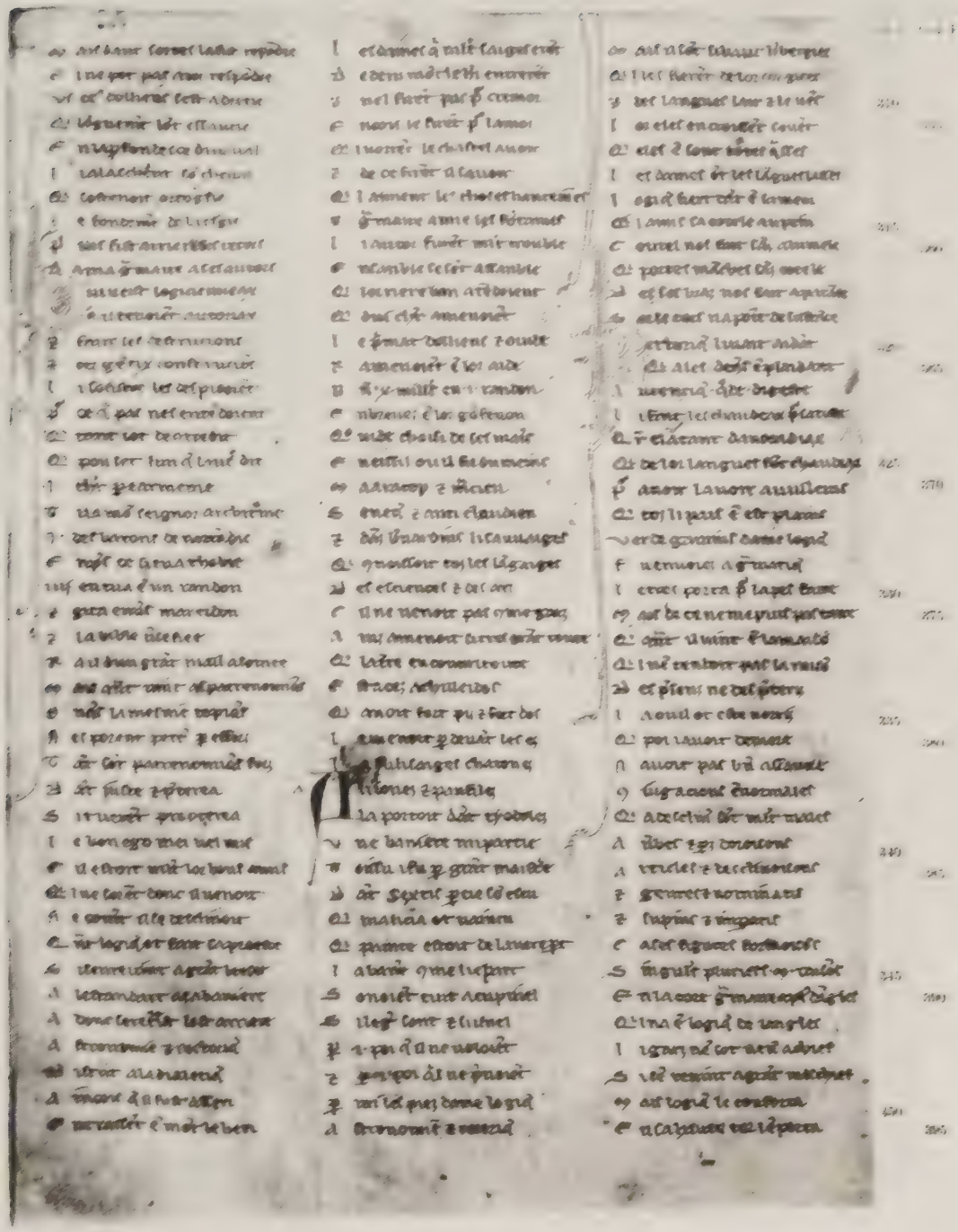

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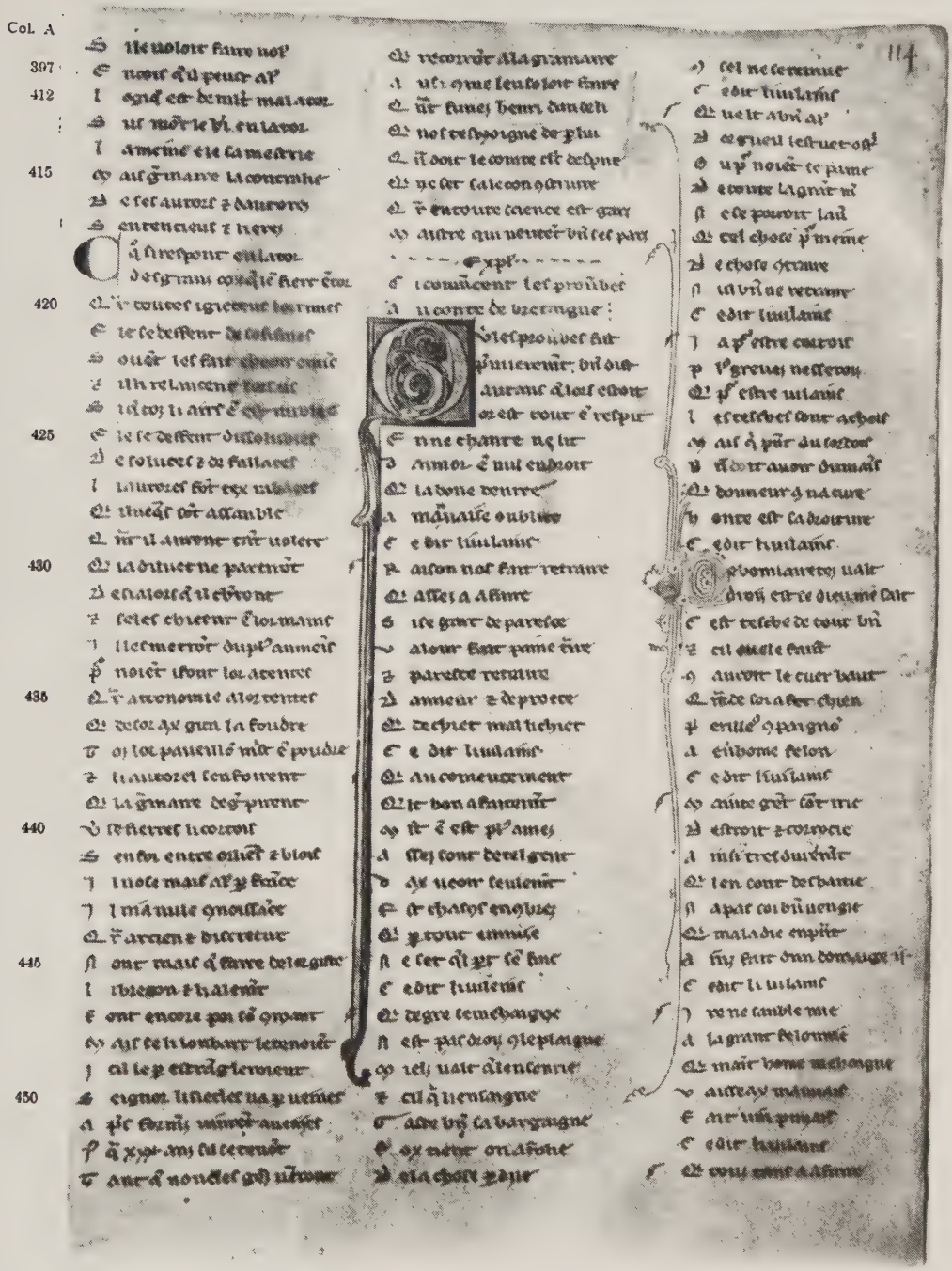

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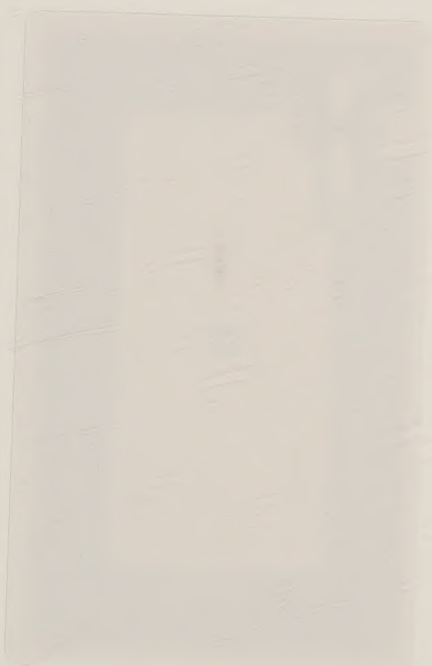

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